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this is a small matter, for there is much to agree with. As we said before, we congratulate the accomplished Editor in giving this Church so able a review, one more worthy of it than any other that has yet appeared.—*Southern Churchman*.

Forming, as it does, a repository of the current thought of the best minds among the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, on topics of deep, actual, present interest, the REVIEW should receive the support of every Churchman, and become a power for good in the Church and the world.—*The Living Church*.

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The Commendation of the Bishops.

The following Testimonial was signed during the Session of the General Convention, held in Philadelphia, October, 1883, and bears the signatures of all the American Bishops present.

It is of pre-eminent importance that the Church shall have a Literature to express its best thought, and to stimulate its mental activity. It is a matter of duty as well as of pardonable pride to make this Literature as good as possible, and at least to keep it up to the average standard of the age.

At the head of our Current Literature stands the CHURCH REVIEW. During the last few years, and under its present Editorship, it has won a deservedly high place among all similar publications in the country. It is as comprehensive in its tone as the Church itself. All schools of thought that may lawfully claim recognition are welcome to its pages. The most vital questions of the day have been discussed by it with dignity, learning, and commanding ability. The field it occupies, intellectually considered, could not be allowed to become vacant without inflicting a stigma on the character and culture of our Church.

From a merely nominal subscription list it has advanced its circulation to some 2,500. To bring it within the means of all the Clergy, it has been obliged to cheapen its rates to a degree that forbids the hope of much profit, even with a greatly extended list of subscribers. In order to increase its efficiency, it needs the kind and measure of help which other Christian bodies have been ready and prompt to extend to their best organs of opinion.

It is enough to add, that the undersigned warmly commend the REVIEW to the favorable consideration of the Clergy and Laity, whose devotion to the best interests of the Church justifies a belief in their willingness to lend a helping hand to every good work.

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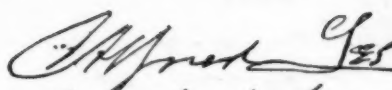
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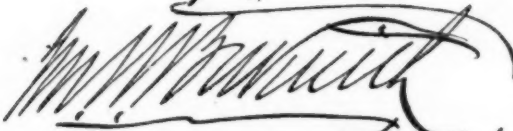
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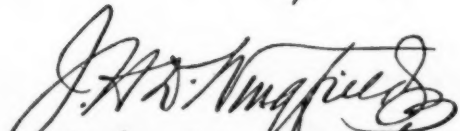
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CHURCH REVIEW

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JANUARY, 1886

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CHARLES THE FIRST A MARTYR.

THE circumstances attending the first settlement of this country have been responsible for much false teaching with reference to what is popularly spoken of as the Revolution of England, and it is only within a comparatively recent period that juster views have found tolerance. It is quite within the experience of nearly every one to hear the most extravagant praises of Cromwell and his followers crowded into popular addresses. Systematic works and greater leisure for personal investigation have at last awakened a new interest in the history of the XVII. century, and now it is permitted to doubt the absolute sanctity of Puritanism, and, indeed, public sentiment seems to be drifting somewhat to the other extreme. All classes of people, probably, are now prepared to admit that the Cromwellians were ordinary human beings, with human weaknesses. In the hope that a more just estimate of the men and events of the Cromwellian rebellion may be secured, I shall endeavor to present not so much a narrative of events, which are certainly quite familiar to all readers, as an argument, more or less philosophical, based upon these events.

Among a certain class of people, a very large and influential one at that, it is common to express approval when their children evince a taste for reading what is called history; and the same class of literature is considered by them to be the chief kind of *solid* reading. Now, if we were to ask such an one: "What

is history?" the answer would be, most likely: "A record of events." That this is all of it, the full scope and meaning of the word, few outside of the class of educators have ever questioned. But history is something more, something better than this; it is the *science*, the *philosophy* of events. The careful student of the history of his race can scarcely fail to note that every event of great political importance, everything that has had a tendency to alter the composition of society, change the political complexion of the State, or recast the geography of empires, has been a natural and inevitable effect following a recognised cause; it has been a legitimate conclusion to a state of facts that has grown out of the development of the people from a lower to a higher standard of morals, intellect, and wealth. It is the part of the historian to detect these causes, to trace out the steps in the process of evolution, and to draw lessons for the future from the teachings of the past. This knowledge cannot be acquired by reading any one author, no matter how gifted such an one may be. In fact, the greater the ability of the writer, the more dangerous is his teaching. If history is a simple chronology, the mere publication of State papers and records would be all that is necessary. The labors of the historian, as far as a mere narrative of events is concerned, would be merely clerical. These events need explanation, or modification for party-purposes, or even for more worthy objects; the mere amplification and classification of State papers and records, therefore, cannot rise to the dignity of history.

Certain periods of history are properly subjects for partisanship; there are questions at issue about which men may well differ, and which can never be dogmatically stated. Take, for example, the period commencing with the death of Henry VIII. and ending with the accession of the House of Hanover. Would Macaulay have written his Whig and Low-Church history, had not Hume and Smollett given the Tory and High-Church side of the question? Would Evelyn's Diary ever have seen the light, had not Burnet written the

History of his own Times? No! none of these were written merely to narrate *events*, but to give the events the color they bore to the Jacobite, the Williamite, the Tory, the Whig, or the High or Low-Churchmen!

With reference to the topic before us these questions will be found to have a particular interest. In this country, unfortunately, at least until very recently, our school-books are written, for the most part, by those who have been nurtured in an intense, although often unrecognised partisanship; our children derive their ideas from these books, the partisan spirit is extended, and they grow up with the most narrow and partial conceptions of the great events which led to the birth of our country and nation, not knowing that they *are* narrow, partial, and partisan. It is not so much with the desire to make proselytes, therefore, as to demonstrate that there are two sides to every question, even one as long-settled, according to our school-book "historians," as this of the righteousness of the execution of Charles I. We can lay down, as a proper preliminary, this first axiom in the study of history: The student must endeavor to put himself back into the age of which he is reading. Adopting this for the present, and putting away from us XIX. century ideas and republican prejudices, let us inquire as to the Constitution of England in the year 1600.

To a republican, more particularly one born and reared in a country such as our own, the first misconception is apt to be in the nature of kingship as it existed when Charles I. came to the throne. In those days (in theory the same to-day) the subject owed allegiance and fealty to the sovereign alone; there was no loyalty to a constitution, none to a form of government, none to an idea that represented a political principle; the loyalty and duty was *personal*. Duty was owing to the sovereign as the State in essence; treason was imagining or compassing the death of the King, laying violent hands upon his person, thwarting his policy, intriguing with his enemies. An affront to the King was an affront to the nation. This personal loyalty and

allegiance was due to the accepted theory of kingship. No convention or caucus, or other expression of popular will called the ruler to the throne; he did not reign as the representative of a party, nor in any sense as a popular representative. He was ordained by God! his birth was his title, and it was a high offence against Heaven to harm "the LORD's anointed." He gave no pledges, was not bound to a policy, had no sort of compact with his subjects. Providence ordained that he should be born the heir of his predecessor, and that his people were to receive him as their liege-lord and ruler. The theory of kingship, I have said, is the same to-day. A recent writer—Bagehot—quoted by Escott [p. 353] in his work on *England*, speaking of the Royal prerogative, gives an account of the independence of the Queen from Parliamentary control, as far as law and precedent is concerned. He says:

Not to mention other things, she can disband the army, . . . she could dismiss all the officers from the general commanding-in-chief downwards; she could dismiss all the sailors too; she could sell off all our ships-of-war, and all our naval stores; she could make a peace by the sacrifice of Cornwall, and begin a war for the conquest of Brittany; she could make every citizen in the United Kingdom, male and female, a peer; she could dismiss most of the civil servants; she could pardon all offenders. In a word, the Queen could, by prerogative, upset all the actions of civil government within the Government; could disgrace the nation by a bad war or peace; and could, by disbanding our forces, whether land or sea, leave us defenceless against foreign nations.

The *theory* of kingship, therefore, is unchanged; the exertion of the undoubted prerogative is only withheld in deference to the changed condition of the subject.

This theory was not at all peculiar to England, in fact there was even then some show of constitutionalism in that kingdom. It was the universal conception of kingship, held in common by all nations. To be sure, there was a republican government in Genoa, one in Venice, and one in Switzerland; but they bore no resemblance to what we call republicanism to-day. It was a substitution of many tyrants for one, in some cases without the power to dispossess them after their elevation.

Cooper's novel, *The Bravo*, gives an interesting picture of the tyranny of the Venetian government. In a few words, the right to reign, in monarchical countries, was solely derived from the circumstance of legitimate heirship to the throne.

In an age such as this, with a conception of kingly authority and prerogative sanctioned by universal acceptance, Charles I. came to the thrones of Scotland and England, thoroughly schooled in the doctrines of the times, and utterly oblivious of the fact that theories of government must conform to the intellectual and moral condition of the governed. Indeed, this truth was not appreciated by his descendants until after much suffering and humiliation.

In an age when the mass of men were ignorant, when land was owned by the few, when cities were small and unimportant, when nineteen-twentieths of the population were laborers for the remaining twentieth, a personal irresponsible monarchy was a perfectly legitimate order of government. The distance between the King and commoner was so great that Royalty necessarily seemed a thing of almost supernatural power and authority. As education became more general among the people, the real property of the nation divided into a greater number of holdings, the cities increased in wealth and size, and the people were brought into closer personal relations with their sovereign, there came a more just appreciation of the rights and prerogatives of the governed, and a feeling of restraint and restiveness under the assumption of exclusive authority by the head of the State. This has been the experience of all nations, the means by which the emancipation of the masses was secured, however, differing very greatly. In some we see a legitimate progress, a gradual growth of the idea of a popular or constitutional government, and a necessarily stable and settled state of affairs when the change is accomplished. In others the reform is attempted by bloodshed, or some great moral wrong, and there comes a correspondingly violent reaction, by which the nation is carried back, sometimes into a condition worse than

that from which it sought freedom. The failure of a popular revolution must always be considered a political crime, inasmuch as the very fact of failure argues the absence of necessity for change, or want of fitness, honesty, or preparation of the leaders. The short life of the Commonwealth, the numerous and violent changes in that time, the restoration of the King, and the disappearance of their policy, judged by the standard given above, stamps the Cromwellian rebellion as criminal, and this constitutes the first step in our inquiry.

In all countries where there are parties in politics, it is comparatively a small portion of the population that can be considered politicians, or that take any active interest in the questions of the day. The mass of the people are more or less indifferent to the claims of rival parties, even in this land of universal suffrage, and either decline or neglect to give expression to such views as they may have, or, on the day of action are swayed by purely personal considerations, circumstances that are local in their operation or make themselves individually felt. If this is true in this age of newspapers, and rapid and wide diffusion of news, what must it have been in the XVII. century, when newspapers were unknown, when months were sometimes required to transmit news from one end of the kingdom to the other; when suffrage was limited to a very small portion of the people, and hampered in various ways? The success, therefore, of one or the other party in any political conflict, in the time of Charles I., could not be said, in any sense, to represent truthfully the popular feeling. In addition to this, and for other reasons, the House of Commons had little claim to consideration as a representative body. Parliament had always been quite subservient to the Royal will, and while gratifying a popular sentiment, by affording a show of representation, the members were really chosen as the great landlords directed. The boroughs did not all send representatives to Parliament; many had no representatives whatever, and none a representation based on population. Their right consisted in charter privileges, bought or extorted from the Crown.

The small municipalities often had a representation that was denied the larger; London had but one, so had a small country hamlet. All the inhabitants of a borough did not enjoy the right of suffrage. In some only those who owned a certain amount of real property; in others the corporation elected their burgesses; in one, Stoke-regis, there was but one voter in 1649. In nearly all the rural boroughs the landlord named the member, and the electors, his tenants, obediently returned him. In 1640 the interests of the gentry were opposed to the policy of the Court, as the burdens of the new taxation rested very heavily upon them. Their influence was used to return men in their interest to oppose this stretch of royal power, and thus they unwittingly struck the first blow at the prestige and influence of their order. The Lower House at this time, therefore, represented the Peers and gentry, and not the commons of England. It was in this House that the Rebellion originated, and by them was it conducted.

When Elizabeth died, the heirs of the body of her father, Henry VIII., expired with her. This left the succession to the heirs of Henry VII., who were the descendants of his daughter Margaret, the wife of James IV. of Scotland. Her heir was James VI., son of Mary Stuart, who was undoubted King of Scotland, and direct heir to the throne of England, the disability of alienage being removed. Moreover, he was declared by Elizabeth her successor, and took the Crown without any objection, but somewhat to the mortification of many Englishmen, who little relished (at *that* day) the accession of a foreign monarch. Now, here comes in an important fact, and one that, if not intentionally suppressed, is at least little dwelt upon by Whig historians. In coming to England James lost none of his rights in Scotland; the Kingdoms remained separate and distinct in every particular; there was no semblance of union in theory or fact. The Parliament in England had no authority in Scotland, and English institutions were as entirely foreign as they ever had been. The "union" did not come until 1711, during the reign of Anne, the last of

the race of Stuart that sat on the throne. The conception of the nature of kingship, therefore, made any question of the right of James to the throne impossible; and, in fact, none *did* question it. Without any pretence of the union of the Kingdoms of Scotland and England, and without a shadow of doubt as to the legitimacy of the succession of the Scottish king to the English crown, James and his descendants could not justly, by any action of the Parliament, or rebellion of the people of England, be deprived of their crown in Scotland; nor could anything done in Scotland, parliamentary or popular, affect their throne in England.

James, with all his faults of character and government, gave a sensible impulse to the spread of education in England, and the period covered by his reign and that of his successor, together with that just closed by the death of Elizabeth, worked a radical change in the general intelligence of the people. With this collective and individual improvement came, as a natural consequence, a weakening of the royal authority, which is better fitted for arbitrary exercise where the institutions are primitive and patriarchal. A wise yielding to this inevitably altered relation of King and subject, would have saved the later horrors of the rebellion, but James' conception of the dignity and sanctity of his office was too fixed and exalted to enable him to read the signs of the times. His son was an apt scholar in the same school, and thus the dangerous attempt was made to rule a people, fast rising to a higher plane of development, in accordance with principles better suited to a primitive state of society. And why should a king be held accountable for failing to read the "signs of the times" correctly, when the inability is a *natural* one, quite general among all classes. In his case, indeed, there is a *special* disability growing out of the want of direct relation to the people. Accounts of political occurrences reached the throne colored by the apparently unavoidable filtering through the multitude of officials, reaching therefrom back to the people. Until newspapers came into existence the king only knew what his councillors

chose to tell him. Neither James nor his son had any opportunity of knowing that society was any different from what it had been during the reign of their predecessors.

In addition to the changes in society as above hinted at, the questions arising about the accession of Mary, on the death of Edward VI., when Mary, Elizabeth, Jane Grey, and Mary of Scotland had claims to the throne, one being better than another only as Parliamentary enactments were superior to the Divine right of primogeniture, had somewhat weakened the authority of the dogma that kings reigned by the will of God alone. Close upon this came the unwelcome accession of James—unwelcome to the Peers and upper classes—which had the effect to somewhat weaken the authority of the King in the upper house of Parliament, and also in the Commons from the pressure brought to bear on the electors by the great landlords. Hence when Charles finally came to the throne, the times were unpropitious for a continuance of the old order of things. The people, for the first time, were commencing to feel their importance and power in the State, and a conflict was inevitable, unless a peaceful solution could be found.

But there was another factor, one of the first importance, and one that has been much misinterpreted by popular writers. Religion assumed a prominent place in the controversies of the times. Let us devote a little space to a study of the three parties into which the people were divided—Churchmen, Dissenters, and Papists.

It is a popular error that the Church of England, the national Church, was a creation of Henry VIII., in forgetfulness of the fact that he provided in his will for the performance of "masses for the repose of his soul," was a bitter persecutor of the Lutherans, who represented the Protestant party in his day, and very nearly sent his last wife, Catherine Parr, to the scaffold on suspicion of belonging to that communion. The theory of the Church of England, as expressed in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer in the time of Edward VI.,

was and *is*, that controversial theology is a matter for private and personal settlement, but that *all* Christian people could meet for *common* prayer. Their requirements were therefore related to ritual, ceremonial, and not to doctrine, except so far as all Protestant people were united as to what they considered the "errors of Rome." Of the Clergy something more was demanded, but the laity were asked to conform to ceremonial only. The claims of the Clergy of this communion have always been that the Church of England was Apostolic, and in throwing off the yoke of the Roman primacy no revolution was consummated, only a restoration of the primitive organisation. However this may be, it is not our present purpose to inquire. Suffice it at this time to call attention to the peculiar relation a State Church sustains to the State. It is a part of its organisation; its care and sustenance is a part of the nation's burden, a proper subject for Parliamentary discussion and control, to a certain extent, and with powers and privileges peculiar to itself, yet closely related to the general polity and organisation of the Government. It represents something more than is meant by a Church in the American sense of the word, and it must be in strict harmony of feeling and policy with the Government of which it forms a part.

The Roman Catholic Church owed allegiance *first* to its Sovereign Pontiff; it held lands and benefices by a power and from an authority outside of the kingdom; it had courts and jurisdiction over which the Government had no control; above all, its head was superior to the civil head of the State in matters of dogma, theoretically; in *all* matters, temporal and spiritual, actually. In divorcing the Church from foreign control the State made enemies of all the adherents of the Romish communion; if it reconciled itself to that Church, it introduced a power superior to itself, a power that could inflict capital punishment on any subject of the State condemned by its tribunals, convicted of offences of which the State knew nothing, and from which there was no protection for life or property in the Courts of

the Realm. It recognised a power that could release the nation from subjection to its proper government, and even punish the people for yielding obedience to their own King. While such a power must be considered, in relation to the State, as something more than merely representative of a religious belief, yet insensibly, perhaps naturally, a belief in the "real presence" and other matters of a doctrinal character, came to be considered as a species of treason, and the mere exercise of the peculiar form of worship an offence to the ruling powers. Hence the Church of Rome was an enemy to the law of the land, and its adherents properly subject to the suspicion of the Government.

Another party were the Dissenters, those who in the reaction from Romanism had been carried far back into asceticism, and dissatisfaction with everything that in construction or ceremonial was suggestive of the priestly bondage in which they had so long been held. The party was the result of the aid given the Protestant parties in Holland, and elsewhere, by the sovereigns of England from Henry VIII. to James. The men sent abroad acquired a military training and skill that was denied them at home, but also became interested in the subtle theological questions of the day, questions which were responsible for the formation of numberless sects. Upon their return to England, when the policy of Charles withdrew English support, they brought military skill to the aid of the party of the opposition, and also the baneful sectarianism that sought to graft questions of doctrine on the common worship of the Established Church, questions which the ritual especially sought to exclude. They had witnessed the horrors of the Inquisition, and imbibed an intense hatred of Romanism, and everything suggestive of it. They found it an impossibility to reconcile themselves to a Church that had Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and thus were led to form organisations out of harmony with the State Church; as the heat of party warfare augmented they gradually assumed an attitude hostile not only to the Church, but to the Government which it represented. The neces-

sity *all* Governments are under to protect themselves from assaults on their institutions, compelled England to demand of her servants, in every department of the Government, to solemnly swear to support the institutions of the State, its Constitution, and to abjure the Church of Rome and all foreign domination. The second pledge all Dissenters and Churchmen readily took ; the first could not be taken by two of the parties, because it involved a pledge to support the Church of England as *one* of the institutions of the State. The matter of dissent, it can now be seen, soon became something more than a mere question of religious belief, and the clumsy attempts of the inexperienced politicians of that early day to reconcile these conflicting parties only alienated them the more. The Dissenters, therefore, soon became enemies of the State in *all* particulars ; they split up into sects almost innumerable, differing from each other, mainly, only in the degree of their animosity to existing institutions. They were united in an ardent desire for complete freedom to think and act as they pleased, in matters of religion ; but, alas ! were equally earnest in the desire to make all the rest conform to them. When they had the power, fortunately for a *very* short time, they speedily arrogated to themselves more than their ancient enemies had, for they sought to impose *doctrine* as well as ceremonial on the nation. Such a party, when time had consolidated them into corporate bodies, and given them confidence from united purpose, being forbidden to meet in secret, met in public, and crowds were gathered in squares and open places to hear their preachers. The spirit of the times, and a sense of injury from the State, led their preachers to inveigh against the Government, so that when "Fifth-monarchists," "Independents," and others, publicly proclaimed the end of human monarchies, and the inauguration of the reign of the Saints ; spoke of the overthrow of the Government, and the establishment of a republic or commonwealth ; denounced the House of Lords, and assailed every department of the Government in the most severe and harsh language that hate

and a restricted vocabulary could furnish, it was not *religion* but treason that was being preached! No king could be justified in supinely allowing the Government of which he was the head to be destroyed. Charles had but one duty to perform—to punish the traitors.

From what has been said, all must admit that Charles came to the throne in an unhappy time for one who believed he was responsible to none but God for his government. It was a misfortune, not a fault, and the times in which he lived were more responsible for what followed than he himself. His *personal* faults, both as a King and a man, should not be taken into the account. He was pure in his life, a gentleman in breeding, devoted to his family and what he believed to be his duty. As compared with the infamous Georges, who displaced his race, he was almost a saint. As a person, as an individual, he was above reproach; as a ruler his faults were not so much his as those of the age. To ask a different course of action would be impossible, when we recall his training, the traditions of his class, and the unique circumstances by which he was surrounded, circumstances that no other king had been called upon to encounter. He had constitutional warrant for every act of his reign, for the English Constitution was truly *lex non-scripta*; everything being based on precedent, he had warrant in the past abundantly. The personal character of *any* of the Stuarts has nothing to do with the question of the righteousness of their dethronement, excepting so far as it influenced their management of the State. But suppose the sovereign *is* to be judged in *two* characters, as an individual and as a King, a ruler, the head of the State. Even then none can say that the Stuarts, as a class, were any worse, or any more incompetent than their successors. One Stuart lost his life, another lost his crown, both through mistakes in Government. The Hanoverians, their successors, without a good man in the five that succeeded Anne, lost America among them, and lost it through a continuance of the same difficulties that commenced with the first

Stuart in England. We have every reason to believe, that under the same circumstances that embarrassed Charles I., the wisest of his successors would have either met the same fate, or saved his life or crown by a deliberate act of perjury in failing to preserve the institutions of the State, as he had solemnly covenanted to do in his oath of coronation.

The assertion has been made, in many an alleged "history," that Charles I. was a "tyrant and an oppressor of his people; that he persecuted the Puritans on account of their religion; and that for these offences he was brought to trial, found guilty, and executed." To almost the entire number of our school-children, this is the sum total of their knowledge of the subject, and children of older growth will glibly repeat the same lesson, not dreaming that there can be anything on the other side of the question, or even that there *is* another side. Having briefly informed ourselves of the condition of society when Charles came to the throne, let us now dissect this arraignment, and see if there may not be some question of its literal accuracy.

"He was a tyrant, and an oppressor of his people," is the first clause in the indictment. There can be no question that in some respects, taking the bald facts without considering other circumstances, that in the attempt to collect ship-money, rule without a Parliament, and to levy and collect taxes without the authority and sanction of the legislative body, the King did what none of his immediate predecessors had attempted. Yet he had abundant precedent for what he did, without going back of the Tudor dynasty, and precedent, we know, was all that was necessary to make an act constitutional. In the state of society which he found on his accession, a prevalent dissatisfaction, without any idea of what was wanted, an absence of any precedent on his part as to the best method to meet such a state of facts, and, on the part of the people, an equal lack of precedent as to the best method to work a reformation of existing oppressive institutions, a conflict was inevitable. This did not occur in the XIX. century, with

diplomacy and politics reduced to a science, and ample experience in the ways and means by which a minority could rule a majority; it occurred in a far different age, when precedents themselves were to be established, and the principles of political science, as we have it to-day, were awaiting creation. "Language," in a diplomatic sense, was literally "intended to conceal one's thoughts," and he was the most accomplished diplomat who could mislead his adversary the most completely, and most successfully practise dissimulation. This, I take it, all will admit; that whatever extraordinary exertions of the kingly power Charles employed, was in virtue of a power to which he could legally and morally lay claim. No Court, or Parliament, or Synod, or Convocation, or anybody competent to perform legislative function, in any sense or to any degree, proposed an alteration in the Constitution, or any restriction of the Royal prerogative. No petitions or requests had emanated from any considerable body of the people asking for any such action. The popular ferment was without any definite desire or object; no unity of sentiment existed between the numerous body of Dissenters, and others disaffected. The Roman Catholics clamored for a restoration of the Papal authority, and the destruction of the Established Church in its present form; the Dissenters demanded perfect freedom for themselves, and a conformation of the Church of England to their ideas. The Churchmen wished for the utter suppression of both Romanism and Dissent. The republicans cried for a complete revolution of the form of Government, while another party wanted communism and a redistribution of the land. It exceeded the wisdom of the age to find a way out of these difficulties without an appeal to the sword. Now, in obedience to a recognised law of nature, one already alluded to, had the change thus attempted been in answer to a recognised want, and with the concurrence of the mass of the people, the new order of things would have been permanent and enduring. It lasted barely eleven years, even then undergoing many violent changes, when the old order of things was re-established, in some respects

the worst features being intensified. The rebellion having proved a failure, therefore, the argument and conclusion would seem to be irresistible, that it was a political crime. To say the least it was premature, however necessary a change in the order of things had become. The people, in a large sense, did not desire a change, at least a change in the form attempted, and hence a failure was not only inevitable, but true reform was postponed many years. The modifications in the English government familiar to us of this day came as late as the present century, under William IV., the abuses of the personal government of George III. being directly responsible for them.

An important point now demands attention—In what respect was Charles a “tyrant?” All that Charles did to arouse the hostility of the disaffected in the kingdom, Cromwell and his abettors did likewise, with this *difference*—the King acted under a regularly delegated and lawful authority, whilst the Republicans had no such warrant. I make this statement deliberately, as a catalogue of the complaints of the disaffected may be readily made, and comparison of the acts of the Commonwealth therewith will show the absolute literalness of the assertion. The King, it was charged, attempted to rule without a Parliament; Cromwell himself did not hesitate to disperse the members with the sword. The King levied and collected taxes without the authority of the legislative body; Cromwell did precisely the same thing. The King, in obedience to the obligations of his oath, attempted to suppress treason and rebellion, by forbidding dissenting preachers to harangue the public on affairs of State; the Commonwealth destroyed the churches, drove the Clergy from their cures, and treated with the utmost harshness all who did not profess the doctrine of their followers. The King was accused of levying soldiers to rob the people of their liberty; Cromwell maintained an army such as England had never yet seen, and set up a military despotism in which questions of religious doctrine were settled by drum-head court-martial, and all departments of the Gov-

ernment ruled by the sword. Not satisfied with driving their own King from his throne, they coerced a foreign State, Scotland, into denying the crown to their legitimate sovereign. All of this, if it does nothing more, teaches that consistency and political honor were not among the virtues of the so-called "Commonwealth," as every one of the grievances complained of by their party, when subject to the laws, was transferred to the other side when they succeeded to the places of power. It was abominable for Charles to levy taxes and enlist soldiers, to aid an ally to whom he was bound by treaty, when the money and soldiers were to be used against Protestant rebels in France. It was a "crowning mercy" and a "precious privilege" for Cromwell to do the same thing if it was the Romanists of Ireland that were to be chastised. It was an unpardonable crime for a legitimate sovereign to forbid the preaching of treason under the guise of religion. It was a proper thing for a usurper of executive power to forbid religious worship in the form established by the law of the land. It appears to me that the apologists and admirers of the Commonwealth must either admit that they made a very unwise, cruel, and tyrannical use of their opportunities, or else they must satisfactorily account for the speedy collapse of a power built up at such a vast expense of blood and suffering. If nothing else can be urged in extenuation of a harsh construction of the law in the government of Charles, it must be admitted by all fair-minded people that nothing was done which his office did not give him full power and right to do, particularly as he was not on the throne under conditions, and had made no pledges to secure his accession. He asked nothing in the way of prerogative which many of his ancestors had not enjoyed, and there were no precedents opposed to his general line of policy. Cromwell, on the other hand, wielded a power even greater than a king's, repeating the worst acts of the dethroned sovereign, acts which had led to the rebellion, and which had been formulated into regular and specific charges committed to writing, filed, and pub-

lished as grievances which were to be redressed; made the platform of a party, promising to rule in a manner consistent with the highest and purest principles of Christianity. The pledge was violated, the declaration of principles deliberately trampled under foot, and every promise and declaration systematically broken or evaded. Which party had the more honorable record? Which was best entitled to the regard and confidence of honest men? To a very considerable extent, therefore, and because of these violated pledges, the vindication of the Royalists must depend upon the evidences of insincerity and inconsistency of their opponents; for when we find a party raised to power in the State deliberately ignoring and violating the pledges by which they had gained this power, it is not unfair to assume that these pledges were given without the intention to fulfil, were manufactured simply as convenient weapons to use against their adversaries. Accordingly, we find that while the dissenters of the Puritan sort inveighed against a hereditary peerage, they took good care to make a peerage of their own, and to model it upon the old principle. Whilst they loudly declaimed against the son's succeeding his father as ruler, only because he *was* his father's son, it was provided by law that Richard Cromwell, *as the son of Oliver*, should succeed his father, and that *his* son, should he have one, should succeed him, succeed him not because he was *worthy*—for he was notoriously incompetent—but because he was Oliver's son. Whilst their party esteemed titles of honor, particularly when hereditary, as inconsistent with free institutions, they soon made Cromwell "Lord Protector" with title of "Excellency," and that his son should succeed to it as naturally as any lord's son should succeed to his father's title and estate. Whilst the chief outcry against Charles was his defiance of parliamentary control and the assumption of legislative function, Cromwell did not hesitate to march soldiers into the halls of legislature, and drive out the members by force of arms. The malcontents were very earnest about the King's assaults on the Constitu-

tion, yet they formally, by simple vote, abolished the Upper House when it would serve their turn. The King was forced to descend from his throne in England, and yet Scotland was threatened with war when she recognised his rights to the throne of that kingdom. All this, and much more, was done in violation of the solemn pledges given at the commencement of the rebellion, and while unpardonable, and, it would seem, incapable of extenuation, might perhaps have been less worthy of execration had the rebels represented the popular sentiment, or the majority of the nation. They did not represent this majority, as the construction of the Commons, already alluded to, would show. It will be profitable, therefore, to inquire how a minority managed to hold a majority in such complete subjection.

In all countries where a standing army is an institution, there is necessarily a class of professional soldiers, men whose lives are devoted to their calling. The result is, among other and minor matters, that two facts at once attract the attention of those who are unfamiliar with such an institution: First, the army is expected to do all the fighting and other military duty; secondly, the soldiery is vastly superior to a purely volunteer militia. These results are largely due to the development of what is really a *science* of war, which must be the case where a large body of men are engaged in such studies, and to the popular appreciation of that fact. In our own late war it will not require extended reading to show that the real, the substantial results were always obtained by professional soldiers. This is not at all to the disparagement of the volunteer officers; they did noble service in their stations, carrying out the plans conceived by those who had made war the study and business of their lives. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Meade, Hancock, Hooker, Thomas, McPherson, and others, who were the originators of campaigns, were all of the professional class. I cannot recall an important operation that was not planned and worked out by a soldier by profession. *Men* are pretty much the same everywhere; it is the leader, the head, that wins victory.

Without men a general could obviously do nothing; with an incompetent general the best equipped army will fail. History is too full of examples to need particularisation; the career of the Duke of Marlborough is an eminently instructive one.

Now, in England, after the decline of feudalism, the army was barely sufficient in numbers to furnish guards for the royal palaces, and to keep the few forts in order. Every proposition to augment the forces was met with vigorous opposition, and the trade of war almost died out. Educated soldiers offered their swords to foreign powers; those with a taste for military pursuits went abroad to acquire knowledge. The defence of the country was entrusted entirely to militia and county volunteers. Such a force is admirable as a nucleus for army organisation, when the call to arms is made; but without a body of professional soldiers, from which to draw commanders, all history shows its utter inefficiency in regular warlike operations when brought face to face with regular troops. The danger to which other governments had been exposed, by the use of their armies for purposes of oppression, had early prejudiced England against a standing force, the people not choosing to put such a formidable weapon in the hands of their kings. This jealousy and prejudice was greatly increased by the tyranny of the army during the Commonwealth, even to the disgust of the parliamentary party. James II. incurred the hostility of the Whigs by attempting to raise a force, and William and Mary were equally unpopular with the Tories for the same reason. It was not until the time of George III. that opposition to the granting of army supplies ceased.

This hostility to a regular army naturally operated to prevent the cultivation of the military art, although now and then some one would give evidence of the possession of a genius for command, as occurred notably in the case of Cromwell. A thoroughly disciplined, fully equipped, and ably commanded army, therefore, officered by soldiers such as Essex, Fairfax, Leslie, and many others, who had learned their trade under the great

captains of Europe, and later by the genius of Cromwell, was a power that an unmilitary nation had no means to resist. Handled with vigor, as the agent of a considerable party in the country, an army of 50,000 men found no difficulty in effectually putting down all resistance, and the fears of the Conservatives were abundantly justified when they found the country and the laws prostrate under the iron heel of a military despot. That the sword, in those days, in accomplished hands was an almost irresistible power, witness the speedy collapse of the Cromwell dynasty when it passed into the weak hands of Richard! Again, recall the re-establishment of the Stuarts on the throne by General Monk, even whilst the spirit and numbers of the Parliamentarians was still what it was in the days of their greatest power! They had everything that they ever had—the administration of the government, the army, and all the advantages growing out of possession, but they lacked the genius of their old general. The army drove the King from the throne; the very same army brought him back again. In each instance, numerically, it was not as one to an hundred of the rest of the population; but skill, knowledge, discipline, and obedience to a controlling and commanding genius made the few masters of the many. The cities in 1640 were few in number, and their population small; all of them together scarcely contained as many people as now live in London alone. The smaller towns had a scanty population, largely of the rustic class. The chief strength of the Commonwealth party was in the cities; the offices of the Government and all the machinery of State were in London, so that with the chief cities in their possession, with the forts and military posts garrisoned with their troops, the unarmed, ignorant, and unorganised peasantry and common people, inhabiting small towns widely separate, communication difficult, and means for transmitting intelligence primitive and inadequate, could do little to oppose the march of rebellion, and were compelled to subjection to the will of a powerful, organised, ably commanded minority.

With a knowledge of facts such as these, and with a comprehension of the conditions of society then existing, it must cease to be a mystery why, if the cause of the Parliament was not a popular one, did not represent popular will and sentiment, it came so near success. Unquestionably, in the commencement of the disturbances, many gave acquiescence to the opposition party because it was pleasant to feel that the people had the power to make themselves heard and respected. It is likewise true that the murder of the King, and the anarchy that followed that crime, appalled the mass of the nation, and re-established the old sentiment of loyalty. Cromwell was to that conflict, in furnishing a commanding genius for leadership, what Marlborough was to the wars of Queen Anne, Washington to our own rebellion, Wellington to the Napoleonic downfall, or Grant in our late civil war. The destruction of an army, in the days of the Cromwellian rebellion, was an almost irretrievable disaster; and the loss of one great battle cost Charles both his throne and his life.

I cheerfully and willingly concede the military skill, yes, even *genius*, of Cromwell; his power to influence large bodies of men was remarkable, and only to be accounted for by admitting his personal superiority to those with whom he was associated. But this admission does not carry with it an admission of moral worth, purity of character, or honesty of purpose. Some one has said that the heat of political strife "leads men to deify their leaders, and demonise their opponents." This was never more completely verified than in the popular appreciation of the two central figures in this unhappy conflict. The historians of these events, both contemporary and recent, all bear witness to the personal high character of Charles, and to the dissembling, inscrutable, and even unscrupulous character of his adversary. Yet the one is loaded with an infamy that he does not merit, and the other with laudation and praise that he is very far from deserving. Success made the one respectable; defeat did not fail to dim the reputation of the other. One was representative of law, order, and long-

established custom; the other of anarchy, and an aimless and purposeless spirit of unrest. *Aimless*, in that the death of the King found his murderers without a policy, and without a definite scheme for government; purposeless, in that in eleven short years there was a government by a Parliament, by a Protector, again by a Parliament, by a Committee, by the Army, once more a Protector, and a final restoration of the King.

To sum up the charge of tyranny, what were the worst acts of Charles, as compared with the every-day acts of his successors? The sports and diversions of the people were forbidden by law; the May-poles cut down; painting, sculpture, music, and architecture declared to be opposed to the teachings of the Gospel. The moral persecutions of the Puritan preachers were retaliated by the horrible massacre of Tredah, in Ireland; a massacre in which neither age nor sex was spared from the sword; a massacre equal in atrocity to some that have been witnessed on our Western borders, but which Cromwell, the Christian, the apostle of the party of religious freedom, reported to the Parliament as a "crowning mercy," a "most precious outpouring," and with other pious phrases in the cant of the day! The whole history of the Stuarts in England, even the infamous "bloody circuit" of Jeffreys, does not furnish a parallel to this savage atrocity. As far as oppression and tyranny under Charles was concerned, at the very worst it was the widest freedom, when compared with the military government of Cromwell. Every page of the Commonwealth history is stained with blood, the blood of young and old, men and women; the restoration of Charles II. was hailed from one end of the kingdom to the other as a delivery from the rule of tyrants equally despotic and irresponsible with the Czars of Muscovy.

The second item in the popular catalogue of charges can be disposed of in a very few words. "He persecuted the Puritans on account of their religion," say the veracious historians referred to earlier. We have seen already that the "religion" which was being preached

in the streets to excited mobs was not the sort preached by the men of old in Judea. It was oftener a political harangue, inflaming the populace to acts of violence, and appealing to the worst passions of mankind. There can be no question, no man can ignore it, that there were many earnest and God-fearing men in the ranks of the Dissenters. There can also be no doubt that they drew to themselves many with motives less pure, who assumed the "livery of heaven to serve the devil in." The revelations of the scandalous plot of Oates conclusively showed many of the worst scoundrels in the history of the world masquerading in the guise of sectarian preachers. They brought reproach upon their honest associates, and probably the injury done will never be atoned. There is misapprehension on both sides. Popular writers of the day picture the Puritans as either hypocrites or fanatics, and the Royalists as debauchés and cutthroats. Of course the stronger party would attract the rabble, and they must conform to the character of their leaders. The dissolute are forced into the other side, but it would be unjust to judge either by these sorry specimens. To all intents and purposes, having a proper regard for the space at our disposal, I must simply reiterate a former statement, that it was not religion, but treason in its guise that Charles sought to punish. The doctrines of the Dissenters make it difficult, even now, to say where one ended and the other began; their religion was treason, and their treason was religion.

But we must hasten to the final clause in the indictment. We are told that he was "brought to trial, found guilty, condemned, and executed." It is proper to inquire as to the construction of the "Court" that "tried" him, and their authority for such an act. We shall find that the court barely rose to the dignity of one of "Lynch law," for it did not by any means represent public opinion, nor did it even assume to do so. In the outset of this branch of our inquiry, let us remember that the party in power did not in any sense represent the majority of the people; they did not even represent the better, the intellectual part. They were purely a

faction which the force of circumstances had invested with power. When a people—as occurred in our own Révolution, or the Revolution in England which called William and Mary to the throne—with substantial unanimity change the form of government, and in purely popular conventions assume to legislate as regularly delegated by the mass of their countrymen, none will question the legality and binding force of their acts, even if all the old order of things is swept away. But such was not the case when the Parliament, so called, of England usurped sole powers, and constituted itself legislative, judicial, and executive at the same time. There is no lack of evidence that they were bitterly execrated by the vast majority of the nation. They were not a parliament in any ordinary sense of the word.

After the fatal battle of Naseby, the Royalist army being completely destroyed, and the military power of the King apparently broken without a possibility of retrieval, Charles put himself in the hands of the Scots, who formed a portion of the Cromwellian army. Owing to disputes between the Scotch troops and the Parliament, with reference to arrears of pay, the former were on the point of withdrawing from their alliance, and marching back into Scotland with their own King. It was settled, however, to the infamy of the Scots, by their agreement to deliver up the King to the English upon payment of all arrears. So infamous was this bargain, although the Scots and their historians long sought to make it appear that there were stipulations as to the safety of the King's person—that the Parliament of Scotland voted that the King should be protected, and his liberty insisted on. The *Official Parliamentary History* [vol. xv., p. 243] states that the *Assembly*, a congregation of ministers, men who were supposed to be preaching the Gospel of the Master, and to be patterns of Christian virtue; who, in Puritan times, held a power superior to the civil authorities, and rivalled their old enemy, the Pope, in arrogance, and not seldom in the cruel uses made of this power—this “assembly” commanded the Parliament, and I quote the exact lan-

guage, "That, as he had refused to take the covenant which was pressed on him, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortunes." The vote was therefore reconsidered, and the former action annulled. We have here an admirable illustration of the universality of the reign of the law of compensation, in matters social and political, as well as physical. The nation that made this iniquitous bargain atoned for it in blood and desolation. The sellers of their King met death and persecution at the hands of Claverhouse, Montrose, Mar, and Murray in succeeding years; death on the gallows, in the torture-chamber, and on the field of battle; they lost life, estate, and country, and suffered the extremity of human endurance. The followers of the King, who had the power but lacked the courage to oppose the infamous Assembly, and in this respect were only second in guilt to the dominant party, had their term of suffering, which only terminated an hundred years afterward, when the brutal Duke of Cumberland massacred his starved and wounded prisoners on the fatal field of Culloden, and the Earl of Kilmarnock with Lords Lovat and Balmarino were beheaded on Tower Hill.

The King being in their power, it was long a question what disposition they should make of him. The Puritan preachers and their fanatical followers clamored for his blood; the Presbyterians wished for a peaceful treaty, and a stable settlement of all their grievances, without incurring what the whole world, except the Cromwellians, considered the *awful* crime of regicide. These last, the Cromwellians, had the desire to exterminate the royal family, including Queen and children, in the ruin of husband and father—as they put it, in their customary language, "make root and branch work, and leave not one of the bloody house of the malignants to cumber the ground!" This specimen of their doctrine reveals a fact that should not be forgotten. The most superficial reader of history is familiar with the peculiar and offensive language affected by the Puritans. Under the guise of Biblical phraseology and imagery, they

justified acts that were opposed to every principle of civilisation and morality, to say nothing of Christianity. They found warrant in *their* Bible for any deed of blood; the massacre of men, women, and children at Tredah, the murder of their King, the extirpation of his family, or the capital execution of offenders against their doctrinal theology. Ridiculing the covenant was as unpardonable an offence to them as insulting the Host would be to the Romanist, and they rivalled, if not excelled, their papal predecessors in their treatment of such offenders. They found no warrant in the *New* Testament for such atrocities, and consequently almost ignored it. Their precedents were all drawn from the *Old* Testament; they were, as far as logic, language, and practice went, *anti-Christian*; charity, meekness, forgiveness—in short, the Golden Rule of the New Dispensation—were unknown to their policy! There were no prayers for their enemies heard in their conventicles; nothing but petitions for swift and terrible punishment, for the extermination of their foes! In nothing but their professions could they lay any claim to be followers of the Man of Sorrows! This inconsistency, this want of harmony between actions and professions, none can deny, or, it would seem, palliate; to claim Christian attributes and characters, and yet in every act rivalling the savages of our Western plains, makes reconciliation of their professions and actions impossible.

But to return. The Parliament found themselves with the King in their power, and did not dare put him to death, banish him, imprison him, or restore him to his authority. Without a precedent for the trial of a king, they could only put him on his defence as if he were a nobleman. In this case, the articles of impeachment would originate in the Commons, go to the Peers for examination, or a commission of Peers granted by the Crown, or a duly authorised council of regency. The Peers, in the present instance, would either not receive the articles, or quickly acquit their head. The first step, therefore, was to abolish the House of Lords! This was done by a simple vote. There was no coun-

cil of regency, and the King could not issue a commission to try himself. The Commons themselves, therefore, must impeach, try, and pass judgment. Alas for them! The Commons, as the House was then organised, would have quickly dismissed all charges, and acquitted a King whom many loved, some revered as the anointed ruler of the realm, and more pitied as a man brought into great trouble not entirely through his own fault. But one thing remained to be done—the Commons must be purged, a court and jury must be packed! There were about 350 members, and only 50 could be depended on. How could this small party coerce their colleagues? Why, in this honest, Christian, God-fearing fashion!

Colonel Pride was stationed in the Lobby of the House of Commons with a body of soldiers, furnished with a list of the names of over 300 members who were considered certain to vote against the wish of the conspirators. These were arrested and imprisoned as they passed out, leaving less than a quorum, 50, in the House. These 50 were the "court!" they gravely asserted that they were "Parliament." Now, without wishing to play upon words, let us ask, What *is* Parliament? It is definitely stated to be "King, Lords, and Commons." The King was a prisoner, and deprived of his authority. The Lords had been abolished by simple vote of the lower House. The Commons themselves had been invaded by soldiers, who imprisoned upward of 300 of the members! Hence there was no Parliament, and the assertion that the King was tried by such a body is a literal falsehood. That he was tried by *any* body representing public opinion, or in any sense competent to perform judicial function, is equally false. The Royalist affirms—and few, if any, dispute it—that, even with the House of Commons full, they were not representative of the sense of the nation; were the contrary true, judged from the actions and statements of the Cromwellians, the King would have been acquitted. Parliament had been assembled in 1641; they had now been in session eight years, ample time for a radical change in popular feeling.

As soon as active hostilities commenced, if a new election, a *free* election, had been had, there is little doubt that the rebels would have had a very sorry representation. When this Parliament was called, admitting (for the sake of argument only) that they were popular representatives, the sole desire was to restrict the royal prerogative; the imprisonment of six-sevenths of their number surely effectually destroyed their representative character. This fact is insurmountable proof that an immense majority of the Commons were out of sympathy with the Cromwellians, and makes good the assertion that the 50 remaining were only a faction of a faction.

This was the "court" that assumed to "try" the King! But, to give a show and pretence of fairness, they voted that "*enough officers of the army*" and persons from civil life should be joined with them to raise the number to 150. These additional 100 "members" were not elected by the people, nor by the House of Commons; they were elected by the self-appointed committee of 50, a committee originating in an unpardonable breach of privilege and military dictation. The additional members selected were of like mind with the original conspirators, and the "court," as the books call it, was organised.

The charges upon which the King was tried included one of "treason." Against whom was this alleged treason committed? Law, custom, and tradition made treason an act "against the authority of the King's majesty!" It may well be asked if the King could commit an act of treason against himself. The only power that was, in theory, superior to the King's, was the power that *made* him King, and under whose authority and appointment he reigned! This power was GOD! But in a case like this, sophistry did not lack ways and means to accomplish its ends.

The King properly denied the authority of this "court" to try him, or to perform *any* act of a legislative, much less a judicial, character. It is doubtful if any, even in those days, justified in their conscience what was done

on any other ground than pure expediency. The members of the "court" knew that the whole thing was an outrageous violation of law, custom, and common decency; they were conscious that the verdict was already determined on, that the hearing of testimony, and the going through the forms of a trial, was a travesty on justice. When the inevitable judgment was reached, and the King condemned to lose his life, there was a want of dignity and decorum in this iniquitous "court" that would have disgraced the hearing of a petty case before a Justice of the Peace. One of the members approached the table to sign the paper, and with his pen inked the face of Cromwell, who was standing near—the contemporary accounts tell us, "much to the merriment of the spectators!" Cromwell retaliated in kind, when *his* turn came, and this judicial outrage concluded in an ignoble farce. Within twenty-four hours after signing the warrant, signed in levity, as we have seen, the King was led out to die.

If the meagre accounts given us in the popular "histories" are to be believed, this last act in the tragedy was witnessed with approval by a vast multitude of people; but a perusal of the narratives of that date give an entirely different story. We there read that the scaffold was surrounded by soldiers three deep, guns loaded and swords drawn. The two men who executed the sentence of that counterfeit "court" were disguised, and their faces appropriately hidden. The people stood around in dense crowds, the very housetops and windows thronged. There was no disorder, no noise, everything hushed in expectation. When the King appeared on the fatal boards, the multitude broke into sobs and groans; women fainted, and men wrung their hands, says Evelyn, "in helpless despair." When the murder was accomplished, and the ghastly head held up to the view of the people, the soldiers immediately wheeled and charged into the crowd, driving them into the houses and clearing the streets. For the rest of the day the public places were deserted, the houses closed. No smoke came from the chimneys, and no light shone

from the windows when night came. The city was in mourning, and not a sign of approval was made except by the soldiers, who preached long sermons from Old Testament texts, in which precedents for murder and savage revenge were plentiful.

It is needless to pursue an argument based upon facts such as these ; the facts are indisputable, and would not seem to admit of palliation or excuse. The purposes of partial historians can only be served by expurgation, or oblivion to what is patent to all who care to look for it. No better commentary can be made than by pointing to the utter failure of the rebellion, the extinction of the Commonwealth in a few years, and the complete disappearance of any remains of their policy or teachings in a few generations. In some parts of Scotland there were traces of this gloomy, revengeful, and bloodthirsty theology for some time, but to-day it is only known in that last stronghold as a ghost that has lingered too long on the stage of action. In the new world, particularly (perhaps exclusively) in New England, the struggle was hard and bitter ; but to-day it is doubtful if a trace of Puritanism in an organised form can be found in the country. I know that certain denominations assume to be lineal descendants of the Puritans ; I know that many bodies of Christian people imagine that the mantle of Puritanism has fallen upon them. It is doubtful if the ancestors would recognise the descendants. It is probable that, if a Puritan church of to-day could be carried back unchanged into a Puritan settlement of three hundred years ago, the moderns would find themselves in prison within twenty-four hours ; perhaps at the whipping-post, or in the pillory ; some of them unquestionably would lose an ear or a tongue, or have their faces branded, or perhaps even given over to die, as contemners of the covenant or revilers of the saints ! Conceive a Puritan of the XVII. century entering a church of his descendants to-day ! What would he think of the organ ? when he had spent his life in demolishing those "unholy boxes of whistles." What would he think of an ungodly choir, singing uninspired

hymns? What would be his sensations when he came to the kitchen, the parlor, the dining-room, or, as is found in a house of worship in New York State, the billiard-room and the *stage*, with all its scenery, footlights, and machinery in most unsaintly perfection? Do you imagine the dress of the young people, their unrestrained manners, their dancing, card-playing, games of chance, picnics, excursions, novel-reading, and piano-playing would meet his approval? Ah! we may well thank God that the Commonwealth is dead, and their policy with them! Such a community in any country to-day would be a blight on the land. They had their part to play in the scheme of social and political evolution; they have completed their mission, and the world has gladly seen them disappear from its sight.

It will be proper, before closing, therefore, to very briefly inquire what that mission was. With all its faults, stained with blood and blackened with crimes though it be, the Commonwealth was the legitimate parent of Republicanism, as we see it in this free land of ours. It gave the first blow at personal irresponsible government; it formulated maxims that were meaningless to them, except for their own selfish and personal ends, which have grown and developed into all that modern Republicanism holds most dear. "Freedom to worship God" was one of their watchwords; but to them it meant freedom for themselves, subserviency for the rest of the world. So, while good fruit has been born of the seed sown, it is not equally true that the act or manner of sowing was good. To use a time-honored quotation, "they builded wiser than they knew;" yes, wiser than they *meant*. The execution of the King was a foul act of murder; the effect was to cause future kings to listen to the voice of their people.

There is a class of people, happily few in number and daily diminishing, who are very decided in their opposition to works of fiction. They make no distinction between the trashy and unwholesome novels of a Southworth and the grand conceptions of a Scott. *Good* fiction is not only necessary in disciplining the mind,

and improving taste and culture, but is essential to the student of history as filling many gaps left by the formal historian. History has to do very largely with the affairs of nations; fiction, of the higher order, with the affairs of individuals. Indeed, no less a historian than the distinguished Robertson uses the following remarkable language, in his *History of Scotland* [ed. 1787, p. 131], speaking of the murder of Rizzio, Secretary of Queen Mary:

The low birth and indigent condition of this man placed him in a station in which he ought naturally to have remained unknown to posterity. But what fortune called him to act and to suffer in Scotland, obliges history to descend from its dignity, and to record his adventures.

If our knowledge of an era is derived solely from formal works of history, we gain a very inadequate understanding of all the springs of action, of the state of society that made events possible that are worthy of historical notice. So, in reading the history of the Cromwellian rebellion, if Hume, Smollett, Evelyn, Pepys, Burnet, Clarendon, or others form the sources of our information, we will know little of the transactions there recorded other than as they have a purely political significance. Supplement this with Thackeray's *Esmond* and *Virginians*; Scott's *Woodstock*, *Montrose*, or *Old Mortality*; read Ainsworth's *Tower of London*, *Guy Fawkes*, or *Court of St. James*; do not forget Fielding and authors of the day; and in the sorrows and tribulations of the heroes and heroines we learn the feelings, manners, customs, morals, occupations, and amusements of the nation, as an aggregation of individuals, that no other form of literature can furnish. Looking for information in all these various channels, we soon find that Puritanism never had deep root in the hearts of the English people. The books that most of our children are given to read are full of accounts of the sufferings of the Puritans, whose "persecution" was of tamer moral than physical. Not a word is said of the equal, or even greater, sufferings of the Royalists; martyrdom was not all on one side. We learn that when

all traces of the Commonwealth had disappeared in England, whatever might have been the case in Scotland, the spirit of loyalty to the exiled Stuarts withstood all assaults on its constancy, outlived persecution and outrage, and braved destruction long after the institutions of the State had been established in an enduring form, a form inimical to the traditions of the Stuarts. The Clergy cheerfully submitted to expulsion from their cures for refusing to conform to the ordinances of what they considered usurpation; went from affluence into poverty without a thought of renouncing their faith in the Divine Right of Kings. Officers in the army and navy, crippled with wounds, and incapable of earning a livelihood in peaceful callings, laid down their commissions, and finished their lives in penury and privation, rather than take the oaths of fealty to those who had no claim on their services or loyalty, as they believed. Noblemen, risking attainder, by which they lost land and title, not only for themselves, but for their children and descendants, gladly drew the sword, when commanded by him they considered their rightful prince; they ascended the scaffold in multitudes, or died prisoners within the gloomy walls of the Tower, without a regret, and, strange to say, with the full and perfect sympathy of those who had been impoverished and disfranchised by their act. There was scarce one of those whom the implacable Hanoverians caused to be executed for treason to the new order of government, large as the number was, who in any sense expressed regret for what he had done, or could be induced to ask for clemency under promise of adjuration of the Stuarts. To what and to whom was all this loyalty offered? Not to the *person* of any of the Stuarts, but to the principle of which they were the incarnation. It was to the doctrine of legitimate heirship, and that kings reigned by Divine right! Of course, we, as Republicans and Americans, can have but little if any sympathy with a cause such as this; yet we can and *must* admire the devotion and constancy, the brave endurance of suffering and death, for a principle that the Jacobites exhibited. We must believe that such con-

stancy and loyalty could not be exhibited in or inspired by a cause so utterly worthless as the popular historians would have us believe it to be. We may truly affirm that Charles I. died a martyr; and that the thousands who, for nearly 200 years, faced death, ruin, and exile at the bidding of his successors, are not to be considered thoughtless and restless adventurers, or men acting other than from deep-rooted principle, in obedience to the dictates of their conscience. This devotion to a hopeless cause, commencing in 1640, continued unabated down to the last attempt of the exiled house, in 1790; and was a deeply rooted sentiment, simply wanting a way and form of expression, when the last of the race expired, in the person of Cardinal York, in 1808. This left George III., then incumbent of the throne, the legitimate heir of the elder, as he had been of the younger branch of the Stuarts when he came to the Crown. The struggle is now over; for, by a singular state of facts, Queen Victoria reigns as the lineal descendant and direct heir of all the contending houses of former times. Lancaster, York, Tudor, Stuart, and Hanover, all end in her, making it doubtful if there is ever again a struggle for the Crown of England.

J. G. GILCHRIST.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.

IN view of the course which this question has been made to take, since the enactment of the statute of Henry VIII., 1533, and, moreover, in consideration of the shape which it has assumed in the minds of the majority of the best educated of the English people, in and out of the Church, it is remarkable, and withal significant, that at this late day it should be thought wise and expedient to introduce it for discussion into the councils of the American Church. In England 300 years have sufficed to test its religious bearings, and it is now about to receive, in that country, its final decision.

Though a disingenuous attempt has been made to associate the question with the crying evil of divorce, no one has, as yet, ventured on the task of showing that these marriages have promoted that crime, or that they are in the least manner related to it. Placing a right estimate upon the intelligence of the modern Church, had the question been permitted to stand on its own merits, and weighed only in the light of Scripture, disentangled from preconceived opinions and political exigency, it might long ago have gone to rest, and the Church have been spared much harmful criticism.

While we would not impugn the motives of those who are endeavoring to make the 99 Canon of the English Church obligatory on this Church, yet it cannot be denied that, on the part of a few, there is a growing tendency to affect English manners and English extravagances, "to follow the example of our English ancestors and relatives on the other side of the Atlantic." Undue and a suicidal stress is placed upon the statement made

in the Preface to the Prayer Book: "This Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship." The word essential, in this passage, declares that this Church does not abandon herself to blind tradition, but that while she would look to her mother for a guide, yet that she intended to reserve the right to determine for herself what is and what is not essential "in doctrine, discipline, and worship." That she has exercised this right the compilation of the Prayer Book is sufficient evidence, and just at the present time still more emphasis is being given to it, in the general feeling that the time has already come when there must be a revision of that book.

Those who would make binding on this Church the English Table of Affinities, the marriage with a deceased wife's sister inclusive, claim that it is the expression of God's Word, and that all marriages contracted within the degrees therein mentioned are *incestuous* and sinful, and moreover that that table is confirmed by the Vincen-tian Rule; and furthermore, they claim that it is binding on this Church, *because* it is a Canon of the English Church. If these claims can be substantiated they ought to be conclusive as to the duty of this Church in council and in practice, though for 100 years she has got along tolerably well without being mindful of it. It must be remembered, however, that on any important subject of duty and conscience assertion will not be accepted as proof. The time is no more when the mere dogmatism of one or many, in ancient or recent times, will be received as a creed in which the soul can hope to find satisfaction and rest. And, in the American Church, the time has never been when it has been thought necessary to shape belief in things spiritual by demands of political exigency. If in this respect England has suffered herself to be seduced—as it is evident that she has done—it is to be hoped that this Church, being independent of the intrigues of politics, and being influenced by a broader and more correct criticism, may not, by any specious argument, be betrayed into an unreserved following of England's example. At any rate, we

have a right to expect that she will not suffer hundreds of her devout and earnest children to be branded with the opprobrious stigma of incest, because of English Canon or English custom. Nor yet because of tradition or of an unnatural and forced interpretation of Scripture. If the literature growing out of this subject is not to be mistaken, the first of the claims—just now cited, that based on Scripture—was abandoned long ago by an overwhelming majority of the leading and best minds in the Church of England. The ablest criticism has shown it to be untenable. It might, therefore, be relegated to issues settled, an object of interest only for the antiquarian. But inasmuch as it is attempted to revive and reclothe it in its worn out garments, it will be necessary to give it some little critical attention.

There are but few passages in Scripture that have any bearing upon the question, directly or indirectly. The most important one of these passages is disposed of by the author of *Kindred and Affinity* somewhat more summarily than might be expected of candid criticism.

It is said that *Leviticus* xviii. 18 speaks *only* of polygamy, and that it does not concern the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. The method by which it is attempted to sustain this assertion is remarkably ingenious, though by no means unusual. It is based on the meaning given to the word sister, *achoth*. It is affirmed that the *fundamental* meaning of this term is *another, another woman, or another thing*. The marginal reading of the English translators and *Exodus* xxvi. 3 are cited in proof of this affirmation.

Achoth is used instead of or for the word *another*, but only metonymically, as when it is said, "Sleep is the sister of death;" or, as when Job says of the worm, "Thou art my sister;" or Solomon, "Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister;" or in the sense in which we may and sometimes do speak of two like things placed side by side, as in the couplings of the curtains of the tabernacle. In no other way than this can the word be translated *another*. Its *fundamental* meaning is sister, child

of the same parents. And this is its meaning in every place where it is used in this chapter. Moses is speaking of a relationship by consanguinity. Furthermore, the law allowed more wives than one, hence to marry *another wife* could not be the prohibition intended in the eighteenth verse. To affirm with Mr. Forster that the term "never designates the blood relationship of two brothers or two sisters" is one of the extremes of perverted criticism. What there is so peculiar in the "Hebrew idiom" as to render it necessary to translate the term in this verse differently from what it will bear in the other verses of this chapter Mr. Forster does not state, though he *affirms* it as a fact. But how would he translate ἐπὶ ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς of the LXX.; or *sororem uxoris tuæ* of the Vulgate; or "deines Weibes Schwester" of Luther? Where are the remarkable passages, to which he alludes, to be found? אֶת־אֵשֶׁת (a-coth)—אֵשֶׁת (i-sha) is an idiomatic expression and means *one—the other*, but the form determines what is the *one* and what *the other*—here the one sister to another sister. No, the language is plain and emphatic, "A woman unto a sister of her thou shalt not take, for a vexing, to uncover her nakedness while she yet lives." If relationship by blood is not to be understood here, as elsewhere, the teaching of the verse and the chapter is unintelligible. The Bishop of Lincoln's visitation address, notwithstanding the prohibition, is against polygamy, but polygamy with a living wife's sister.

It is attempted to dispose of the clause "while she is yet living," by connecting with the word in Hebrew translated "to vex her." Of all the men who have had a hand in transmitting to us the sacred text of the Old Testament Scriptures, the Massorites are the most to be depended upon for their verbal accuracy and the meaning or connection of the words in the text indicated by its interpunctuation. The pointing which they have given to this verse is undubitable evidence that they considered that clause as joined in thought with the two preceding words as they stand in the Hebrew text. The implication, then, is clear and unequivocal, only when

thy wife is dead will you be allowed to uncover the nakedness of her sister.

It is asserted that the words "They shall be one flesh," means, that by the official exchange of marriage vows, the flesh of the man and the flesh of the woman become mysteriously identified, that by this union is created "a new flesh, a *compound* flesh." It is said that there are many things in Scripture hard to be understood; but it is doubtful if any can be found therein from the B^c-rē-sheth of *Genesis* to the Alpha and Omega of Revelation that puts to its tension the comprehensive faculty, commensurate with this statement—not excepting the Blessed Trinity, and the implications of Holy Scripture. It is not the expression of a Scripture truth, but a subtlety of metaphysics, and, as such, it might be dismissed, together with other like vagaries, were it not also asserted that, by virtue of the married union, the wife's sister's flesh undergoes a similar transformation.

For exact expression it would seem that no language could be more concise and comprehensible than that of *Genesis* ii. 24. It is that of the every-day practical life and suited to the understanding of the common mind. וְהָיוּ לְבָשָׁר אֶחָד, or by transliteration, V^e-hā-u l^e bhā-sār 'aē-hād—they shall be *as* flesh one—not *one* flesh, but *as* one flesh. An equivalent expression is found in *Deuteronomy* vi. 8, "thou shalt bind them *as* a sign." This is no uncommon use of the preposition, לֵ—l^e—and it never signifies identity, nor anything like it. In the LXX. the passage is translated, ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. Here, also, the preposition means *as*, *as it were*, *as though*. This is the interpretation that Winer gives to both the Hebrew and the Greek, citing that very passage, as used by our LORD in *Matthew* xix. 5, and by S. Paul in *1 Corinthians* vi. 16, *Ephesians* v. 31, and *1 Corinthians* iv. 3, "for me it is *as* the least thing," and *Acts* xix. 27, "to be considered *as* nothing," and *Romans* ii. 26, "shall not his uncircumcision be *as*, or *for* circumcision?" Winer remarks that the Hebrew preposition in the passage referred to, *Matthew* xix. 5, and translated, εἰς, corresponds to our word *serve*, as in αἰ

γλῶσσαι εἰς σημεῖον εἰσὶν, "the tongues *are*, or *serve*, for a sign." To marry, in classical Greek, is ἀγεῖν εἰς γυναῖκα, "to lead away *for* a wife." References to the usage of these prepositions with the substantive verb and elsewhere, could be multiplied indefinitely, and as the correct interpretation of the language, in *Genesis* ii. 24, depends upon the meaning given to them, they must receive careful consideration. The author of *Kindred and Affinity* does give a thought to εἰς, but he puts it to a very novel use. He translates, "They shall become *into* one flesh." That is an impossible use of the word in that connection. One can be said to go into the house, or that he is "baptised into the Holy Name;" but he cannot say, "he *is into* the house, nor that he *is into* the Holy Name." That language would be no better than the gamin's patois. The two shall be "into one flesh," is not Hebrew, nor Greek, nor English.

One more serious misuse of a preposition. The above-mentioned author says that וּבֶשֶׁר מִבֶּשֶׁר, "and Flesh of my Flesh" means "not taken *out* of, but brought to the man." No such construction can be given to the construct form of the Hebrew in that clause, nor yet to the preposition *ex* of the Greek, nor yet to the phrase *caro de carne mea* of the Vulgate. It is to be regretted that no citations are made confirming an assertion so contrary to the general usage of these languages. If the words of Scripture can be thus distorted out of their primary meaning in the service of preconceived opinion, how is it possible for them to be a guide for life or for doctrine? In that case, one may say, if it so pleases him, "It is not the man's flesh, nor the woman's flesh; it is a new flesh, a *compound* Flesh." It is very possible that such disquisition may furnish diversion for an imaginative and metaphysical mind, but it is certain that it can give little satisfaction to him who desires to know the truth of Revelation; neither can it be said that it comes under the head of exegesis.

In confirmation of the interpretation of *Genesis* ii. 24, the use of the passage, made by Our LORD and S. Paul,

is cited. But, in *Matthew* xix. 5, the Master censures the trifling which was wont to display itself, concerning the marriage relation. And so in part that is S. Paul's object. Marriage is a *covenant* relation—in no inferior sense it is a Sacrament, wherein two parties are *bound* together, not amalgamated, but *bound* indissolubly. It is a union, in which all the joys and sorrows of life are to be equally shared and endured, just as if the two were but one person—all interests and all affections, being blended together, “and, therefore, is not to be entered into unadvisedly or lightly.” It implies a unity similar to that for which Our LORD prayed, “that *they* may be one”—they, the disciples—“even as we are one; and S. Paul, 1 *Corinthians* x. 17, “For we, being many, are one bread and one body.” There is not the slightest evidence that Our LORD or S. Paul was thinking of any other kind of union than here indicated—a union of sentiment and love. S. Paul quotes the passage in order, as nearly as possible, to illustrate the spiritual relationship of the Master to His Church and to His disciples. The exhortation to love their wives is apart from his main purpose. He does not say that *marriage* is a mystery. The mystery spoken of concerns CHRIST and His Church. The passages from *Matthew* and *Corinthians* do not only not confirm, but oppose the idea of any relation in marriage, except that implied by the covenant of mutual interest and mutual love. Anything beyond what these terms imply is metaphysical and harmfully gratuitous.

It has been said that the eighteenth verse of *Leviticus* xviii. does not concern the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, but that it is a prohibition of polygamy. This interpretation is based on a meaning given to the word sister, *אחות*. The passage is translated “Thou shall not take one wife to another, to vex her . . . in her lifetime.” This can hardly be the meaning; for both before and after the law polygamy was permitted, and some of the best men mentioned in Scripture had more wives than one. It is also said that the “Hebrew idiom here never designates the blood

relationship of two brothers or two sisters, but always and invariably means two men together or two women together." No references are given, save *Exodus*, xxvi. 3, in which passage the word sister is used metaphorically, as in the clause "Sleep is the sister of death;" or, as when Job says of the worm, "Thou art my sister;" or in Solomon's language, "Say unto wisdom, Thou art my sister." This usage is in accordance with our own idiom, as when we sometimes speak of two similar things placed side by side, precisely as it is used in *Exodus* of the couplings of the curtains of the tabernacle. But there is no evidence that such is the meaning given to the word here. The phrase *isha—'a'cho-thā*, is idiomatic, and means "one—the other;" but the particular use made of it determines *what* the one and *what* the other is. As it stands in *Leviticus* xviii. 18, it means one sister to another sister. This meaning is confirmed by the LXX. translators, *γυνῆκα ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς*, and by the vulgate, *sororem uxoris tuæ*, and by Luther, *deines Weibes Schwester*, and the relationship spoken of is clearly that of consanguinity, the passage meaning, thou shalt not marry two sisters, one after the other, while the former is living. The prohibition is against polygamy; but polygamy with a wife's sister. The last clause of the original text is an emphatic statement that on the death of the wife the prohibition is removed.

Another objection to marriage with a deceased wife's sister is based on ancient opinion, and especially on English sentiment and English Canon law. To sift the Canons of the ancient and mediæval Church, and mark with precision how many of them are, at this day, binding on the conscience, would require more pages than could well be given to one or two articles for the CHURCH REVIEW. That many of them have, as it were, erased themselves and become obsolete, of course no one will deny. That a goodly number of others ought to go the same road is equally undeniable. Conservatism may be a virtue; it may also be an evidence of weakness. When any principle is assented to, and adopted as a *guiding* principle, *because* it is ancient, it

becomes an obstacle to true progress, in Church as well as in State. Certain fundamental ideas underlie all correct legislation. These ideas will, by virtue of their own inherent force, move on down through the ages, and more or less accurately find expression in law. Other ideas have a life of one or two generations and then pass away. Herein is found the ground principle of the Vincentian Rule, which, in its application, is so often and so wantonly abused. Comparatively there are but very few of the pronouncements of either Œcumenical or Provincial Councils, that stand squarely upon that Rule; not even the Nicene Creed, as it stands in our Prayer Book, the contention about which separated the Eastern and the Western Churches, and if the different ideas suggested in different minds, by the expression Apostolic Succession, be regarded, even *that* would not stand the test of the Rule. That Rule implies universality, "everywhere and by all." To say that the marriage with a deceased wife's sister comes under that Rule, or reaches anywhere near to it, is but a dream of those who would make it tally with, what they wish to have it cover.

It will be sufficient, for any purpose which this article has in view, barely to mention a few of the Canons sanctioned by Œcumenical and Provincial Councils. The Council of Elvira [A.D. 300] prohibits the Clergy from the use of marriage, and excommunicates for five years the man who shall have married his wife's sister—the implication being that after five years all is right again, morals, validity and all. The Council of Ancyra [A.D. 314] affixes the penalty of deposition upon Deacon or Priest who should marry, not having made known his intention at the time of ordination. Fourteen years have wrought something of a change in the minds of the canon makers. The Council of Niocesara [A.D. 314] enjoins degradation of Priests who marry after their ordination and forbids Priests to be present at *second* marriages. A council of Constantinople forbids a man to marry her to whose children by a deceased husband he has become godfather. One of the councils—Ancyra I

think—made a Canon concerning the length beyond which a Priest should not allow his hair to grow. The citation of these acts of Church Councils may appear like trifling with a serious subject, and of irreverence toward the Church. Not so. They are but few of the many instances, in the career of the Church, marking the fact that *all* of the decisions of her Councils are not infallible, and that all her ancient legislation cannot be assented to *because* it is *ancient*, but only because it has been weighed in the light of a progressive Christianity, and recent interpretation, and found in accordance with God's Word! This principle does not harm the Church, but renders her all the stronger by a clearer enunciation of what is *essential* to be believed.

No statement concerning the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister would be complete except some notice be taken, *ab initio*, of its progress in England. To the time of Henry VIII., marriages in that country were regulated by the Canon law of Rome, no little of which was grounded on no higher principle than that of Papal caprice. The Statute of 1533 effected no change of principle, but only determined whose caprice should hereafter rule in the realm. The proceedings from 1527, when the divorce question first began to be considered, until the final decision and separation in 1533, are too specious to admit of a doubt as to the grounds upon which the suit was prosecuted. Plenty of Scripture was lugged in to cast a religious veil over the fundamental purpose, but it is evident, from the history of the transactions, that theological interests and motive had the least possible concern with the question of that shameful dissolution. Notwithstanding Mr. Froude's admiration for that monarch, and his purpose to hold him up to the gaze of the world as a paragon of injured saintship, his lecherous proclivities make it evident that compunctions of conscience exercised over him not the slightest restraining power. Everything went down before his passions. It would be a very remarkable circumstance for a man of Henry's subtle intellect and pretended tenderness of conscience to live with a woman

twenty and more years, unsuspecting that he was living a life of incest, and then all at once, like an enraged tiger, spring at the throat of a faithful wife. But conscience does, sometimes, play curious pranks. No doubt that the danger to England, concerning the succession, was imminent, yet because of a crown, is the Church to come forward with the most specious arguments, and sever that which GOD has joined together? No, not conscience, but passion, was the motive power of Henry, and recreancy the part which the Church acted in order to shape for him a semblance of an excuse for his lust and his tyranny. Even before he had been released from Catharine, by the enactment of law, he undisguisedly took the Boleyn as his wife, in defiance of decency and of all the finer sensibilities of a Christian manhood.

This piece of English legislation must be taken into consideration if any correct idea is to be formed of the origin and value of the English Table of Degrees. It may be said that it is not pertinent to the subject. But it is clear that it gives a clue to the motives and the criticism brought to bear on subsequent legislation concerning it. Than it, I venture to say, that there is not an instance in history where, in a more glaring manner, Scripture has been made to square itself with political exigency.

It is evident that Cranmer, who afterward took a leading part in the controversy, was not at first inclined to believe, on any Scriptural grounds, the illegality of Henry's marriage with Catharine, and knowing the temperament of that monarch he hesitated to express his opinion; and that he might not do so, proposed that the matter be referred to the Universities at home and on the Continent. The appeal is made, and, I believe in every instance, a decision was *forced* by various means which Henry was able to bring to bear upon them. Finally the transaction is accomplished, and the Statute of 1533 enacted. Thus the controversy rested, or rather simmered, until the accession of Elizabeth. In the meantime, the daughter of Catharine, once branded as the issue of an incestuous marriage, has been brought to

the throne, and crowned as the *legitimate* sovereign of the realm. What a sublime tossing about of Scripture and law and bastards!

But this is not all. The wheel must be made to turn the other way. The daughter of the Boleyn is on the throne, and feels it shaking beneath her. The impression is abroad, in the minds of prelates and other dignitaries, that Elizabeth, after all, is the illegitimate child, and not Mary. In support of her succession, resort is again had to Scripture, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was ordered to draw up a Table of Degrees, such as would, beyond peradventure, secure on Scriptural ground the succession. This Table was "never sanctioned by Parliament," but no matter for that, it lengthened the Archbishop's arm, and enabled him to wield it, too, whenever it might seem to him expedient. "It has been contended," says a writer in the *Westminster Review*, "that the Table was adopted and sanctioned by the Canons of 1603; but these Canons, having no force themselves, can give no effect to the Table, for they have never been sanctioned by Parliament."

The subject rested again for between two and three hundred years, thousands of marriages, in the meantime, having been contracted within the prohibited degrees, when a case occurred of sufficient importance to call for some new legislation, and Lord Lyndhurst introduced what is called "The Sister's Bill." This bill provides that the time within which an impeachment can be brought against one having married a deceased wife's sister, shall be limited to two years, and had it passed it would have virtually done away with that part of the table forbidding such marriages. The bill passed the House of Lords, amended in such a way as to render this kind of marriage, celebrated before 1835, clean and legitimate; but all celebrated after that date were to be considered as incestuous and void. What antics the Scriptures are made to play, the Bench of Bishops turning the wheel! And still we of this Church are seriously told that their action is binding on our conscience! A marriage that is pure to-day, to-morrow

made incestuous by Canon ! were it necessary for me to bring my conscience to trust in such authority or be excommunicate, then, in that case, I should say, excommunication let it be.

Within the last forty or fifty years, various bills have been introduced into the Upper and the Lower House, and though such men as Lords Francis Egerton, Lyndhurst, Bishops of Worcester, Ripon, and London, the metropolitan Clergy, Lords Houghton and Penzance ; Dr. Vaughn, the Dean of Llandaff, Mr. Gladstone, and many others of like notoriety and influence, yet thus far the bill has been defeated by a mere handful of Bishops in the Upper House. In the House of Commons, in one form or another, it has passed seven times. A writer in the July number of the *Westminster Review* for 1880, makes the following statement :

At the present moment with more than 400 members of the House of Commons in favor of the Bill, its chances are at the mercy of some half dozen fanatical opponents, who for long years have and who for long years will continue to offer a relentless and unscrupulous opposition. . . . Every member of the Government without exception in the House of Commons is in favor of the Bill. The majority is composed of members from all sides of the House, and from all shades of political sentiment ; from the professors of all creeds, and representatives from all parts of the kingdom ; and yet after 38 years of debate Parliament is mocked.

Simply by the ability of a few men to take advantage of a certain constitutional regulation concerning the introduction of bills and debate. As has been said, on a previous page, the majority of the best minds in England to-day regard that clause in the Table of Degrees, forbidding marriage with a deceased wife's sister, unscriptural and tyrannous. And there is good reason for believing that these minds, ere long, will make themselves effectually heard, and that that obnoxious clause will be erased from the Table.

- Such, I believe, to be a fair presentation of the English legislation concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister. It is evident that the main question has not been allowed to stand on its own merits, and that a

desire to understand how GOD'S Word answers it has been dulled by the exigencies of English politics. It is furthermore evident that the authorities which oppose such marriages are far outweighed by those that affirm their Scriptural legality.

It is needless to speak of the legislation in this Church, regarding the English Table of Affinities. It amounts to nothing. The three or four Bishops, in attendance at the Convention of 1808, at the request of some of the lay delegates, ventured to express a random and unofficial opinion. "Agreeably to their sentiment, in relation to the whole ecclesiastical system," they considered that Table "obligatory on this Church, *unless* there should hereafter appear cause to alter it, without departing from the word of God." They were evidently, and wisely, distrustful of their own opinion, not only in regard to the binding force of the English Canon law, on this Church, but, also, in regard to the scriptural ground for the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Since then, the relation of the English Canon law to this Church has been learnedly treated by such men as the Hon. S. C. Judd, Hill Burgwin, Esq., Dr. Hugh Davy Evans, and others. To one not unduly influenced by a conservatism for English ways and English customs, Mr. Burgwin's conclusion seems to be that which, in relation to this subject, must rule in this Church.

This national Church began its existence actually and truly independent and automatic, dominated by the laws of no Sister-Church, her statute-books presenting the *tabula rasa* on which she alone had the privilege to write such laws as in her wisdom, depending on Divine guidance, she thought proper to prescribe for the government of her faithful members.

THE RECOVERY OF A LOST MIRACLE.—
THE BLOOD AND WATER FROM OUR
SAVIOUR'S SIDE.

INFIDELS are ever laying iconoclastic hands on all the miraculous events recorded in Holy Scripture, in order, if possible, to undermine its foundations. Christian believers, too, in their desire to make plain and acceptable the revealed mysteries, seek to explain them on physical and scientific grounds. The stupendous manifestations of Divine power which attended the Incarnation of our Blessed LORD from His Birth to His Ascension into glory do not escape unhallowed and irreverent treatment.

This is conspicuously the case with the most sublime and significant event which marked our SAVIOUR'S last moments on the cross; the outflow of Blood and Water from His dead person. The transaction can be restored to its rightful place and typical meaning only by the most careful and minute exegetical study. May He Himself guide us while we attempt to present the facts as recorded by His "beloved disciple!"

One of the soldiers with a spear struck His side, and forthwith came thereout Blood and Water.—*S. John* xix. 34.

The Western Church in all past ages, and now and forever, proclaims this testimony: "JESUS CHRIST DID SHED out of His most precious side both Water and Blood."

This declaration by our Book of Common Prayer is in both "The Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants" and "The Ministration of Baptism to Such as are of Riper Years." This public repetition of the declaration

demonstrates the firm faith and the deliberate steadfastness with which the Church holds and proclaims the *miraculous fact*.

This phrase, "*Did shed*," is not in a Passive, but in an *Active* sense.

As the declaration just quoted is, in the Baptismal Offices, immediately followed by this additional declaration, "and gave commandment," it is certain that JESUS CHRIST personal, and not His dead body, "did" by personal action, and not *passively*, did actually, and not rhetorically, "shed both Water and Blood."

That the shedding was *active*, and not *passive*, was actual, and not rhetorical, is certain, for these constraining reasons, which no one can gainsay :

1. It is contrary to English usage for the conjunction "and" to connect impersonal and personal, rhetorical and real actions. For this invincible reason, namely, because in the clause "Did shed" and "Gave commandment," the action of the clause "Gave commandment" is personal and real, the action of the phrase "*Did shed*" is also personal and real.

2. The verb *Shed*, when followed by the Objective Case, as it is here, namely, by "Water and Blood," is always an *Active* verb. To this fact no exceptions can be found.

3. Action requires an actor. Here JESUS CHRIST is the Actor. He is a personal and real actor, because He "Gave commandment;" which is a personal and real action. But we have already proved the action in the clause "Did shed" to be personal and real. On this account JESUS CHRIST is the personal and actual Author of the shedding of the Blood and Water.

4. "*Did shed*," in our Baptismal Service, is the English translation of the Latin *produxit*, in the Sacramentary of Gregory I., Bishop of Rome in the VI. century, from which Sacramentary the portion of the Baptismal Offices we are examining was taken.

By the phrase "*Did shed*," the English translators undoubtedly intended to give the exact and full sense of the Latin verb *produxit*. But what is this sense?

Nothing less than produced, called into being, caused to exist.

The verb *Produco*, with this meaning, occurs in the first centuries of the Christian era [Harper's "Lat. Dic.," p. 1456, B. I.].

The fact is important. The presence of *produxit* in the Sacramentary of Gregory allows us to refer its origin to a date much earlier than the time of his Episcopate, the VI. century of the Christian era.

THE USAGE OF PRODUCO IN THE VULGATE.

The usage of *Produco* in the Vulgate strongly confirms this creative meaning of *Produco* in Classic Latin [135].

These five places in the Vulgate, *Genesis* ii. 9, *Psalms* cxxxv. 7, *Isaiah* xlviii. 21, *Jeremiah* li. 16, *Ezekiel* xxviii. 18, are characterised by these peculiarities: (a) They are connected with the preposition *De*, and thus identical in construction with *S. John* xix. 34, *exivit sanguis et aqua, Vulgate*; and (b) The Hebrew verbs which *Produco* represents in these passages are in every instance the *Hiphe*l, the Causative form of the Hebrew verb.

We copy these five places, the only places in the Vulgate where *Produco* is connected with the preposition *De*:

Produxit Dominus Deus de humo omne lignum.

Producit ventos de thesauris suis.

Aquam de petra produxit.

Produxit ventrum de thesauris suis.

Producam ignem de medio tui.

That in each of these five places *Produco* describes a creative act is most obvious and undeniable.

The creative meaning of *Produco* is strengthened by the *causative* force of the Hebrew verb which *Produco* represents in these five passages, according to Gesenius, the eminent Hebrew lexicographer:

"Caused to sprout forth," Gesenius' Lex., *Genesis* ii. 9.

"Caused to come forth," Gesenius' Lex., *Psalm* cxxxv. 7.

"Caused to flow," English Version, *Isaiah* xlviii. 21.

"Caused to come forth," Gesenius' Lex., *Jeremiah* li. 16.

"Caused to come forth," Gesenius' Lex., *Ezekiel* xxviii. 18.

Jerome, who translated these passages from the Hebrew into the Latin, knew full well both the *causative* force of the Hebrew verbs, and the acknowledged fitness of *Produco* to fully express this causative force.

Such is the ample linguistic authority for assigning to *produxit*, in the Sacramentary of Gregory I., creative energy. Thus: CHRIST produced, caused to exist, the flow of Blood and Water from His "precious side!"

The Latin of the Sacramentary of Gregory I., of which the words in the Baptismal Offices is a translation, is in the *Sarum Use*, from which this Latin was introduced into England, A.D. 1078.

We now repeat this Latin:

Benedicite (scilicet aquam) et per Jesum Christum Filium ejus Unicum Dominicum nostrum—qui te unum cum sanguine de latere suo produxit [Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*, I., p. 189].

The following is the English Translation of these words of the Baptising Minister:

"I bless thee (namely, the water) even through JESUS CHRIST His only Son our LORD, who *produced* these together with the Blood *from* His own side."

The great and invaluable facts thus far established are most undeniably these: The Church, speaking most unequivocally in the Book of Common Prayer and the primitive Sacramentary of Gregory, which the Church copies, and thus approves, both believe and unceasingly teach, that the shedding of the Blood and Water from our SAVIOUR'S side was *A Miracle wrought by Himself*.

What is the Church? "A Witness and a Keeper of Holy Writ" [XX. Article of Religion].

The testimony of the Church as a witness to the miraculous issue from the SAVIOUR'S side is primitive and

uniform. We have already heard the testimony of the Church, as given by the Sacramentary of Gregory I., in the VI. century, A.D. 594.

Listening for the voice of the Church along the telephone of the centuries *preceding* the VI., we hear precisely the same testimony:

1. The early Baptismal Service in the Sacramentary of Gregory must have *inherited* in their integrity both the primitive faith, and the original fact of the miraculous issue of the Water and Blood from the side of our LORD.

2. The Roman Liturgy was substantially the same in the time of Gelasius, Bishop of Rome, A.D. 492, as it was in that of Gregory, A.D. 594, a hundred years after [Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*, I., p. 186].

3. The Roman Liturgy appears to be the same in the time of Innocentius, Bishop of Rome, at the very beginning of the V. century.

4. At that time the Roman Liturgy was esteemed to be of *Apostolical antiquity* [Palmer, I., p. 119].

Innocentius, Bishop of Rome, speaks of the Roman rites, in his time [A.D. 402-417], as having descended from S. Peter the Apostle. Innocentius' words are, *Id quod a Petro Romanæ Ecclesiæ traditum est*, That which from Peter to the Roman Church is delivered [Palmer, I., p. 118].

5. Indeed, if we cannot show any time *preceding* the V. Century when this teaching respecting the miraculous flow of Water and Blood from our LORD's side originated, we shall be compelled to admit this conclusion: This was the traditional teaching from the very beginning of the Gospel History.

Fully established, then, by history itself is this assertion of ours: The Western Church, in all past ages, and now and forever, proclaims this testimony, "JESUS CHRIST did *Himself* shed out of His most precious side both Water and Blood." The testimony of the Church thus historically, and therefore imperishably established, cannot change, unless she deny also her own historical origin. The testimony the Church has proclaimed from

the beginning of the Gospel, and is now proclaiming, the Church will forever proclaim while the world shall last.

In opposition to the traditional judgment and belief of the Church, two human causes are in modern times assigned for the appearance of the Blood and Water from the dead body of CHRIST: either (*a*) the spear of the Roman soldier, or (*b*) the spear and the broken heart of the Divine Sufferer combined.

Is there not an arbiter of sufficient authority to decide the incessant controversy between the Church and the common explanations?

Since, next to the records of Ecclesiastical History, the Narrations of the Four Gospels and the Epistles of the Apostles of our LORD are the only written testimony in our possession, the ultimate appeal must be to these additional historical records.

THE TESTIMONY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

The testimony of Holy Scripture is both historical and exegetical.

I. *Historical Testimony of Scripture* includes the testimony to these facts: (1) The Death of CHRIST, and (2) The Outflow of Water and Blood from His sacred Person.

I. The Testimony of Scripture respecting the Death of CHRIST embraces (*a*) the testimony of CHRIST Himself, (*b*) the testimony of S. John, and (*c*) the testimony of the Roman soldiers.

(*a*) The Testimony of CHRIST.

CHRIST Himself testifies to His own Death.

Previous to His Death He said, "I have power to lay down my life" [*S. John* x. 18].

On His cross He put forth this power, when He exclaimed, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" [*S. Luke* xxiii. 46; "yielded up," *S. Matthew* xxvii. 50; "gave up," *S. John* xix. 30, His spirit to God.]

With these two declarations of our LORD, the facts here following are inseparably connected:

(*aa*) Our LORD died of *His own will*, Crucifixion did

not produce His Death. Our SAVIOUR died voluntarily. "Our LORD died as the Prince of Life by an act of supernatural power, and separated, at His own pleasure, and at His own command, the spirit from the body" [The Rev. George Townsend, Arrangement of New Testament, Note 29, Part VII.].

(bb) Our LORD was *fully conscious* of the fact that He was dying.

(cc) Our LORD did not die either from faintness or from a broken heart.

(dd) His commendation of His spirit into the hands of His Father is His own testimony to the fact of His actual Death.

Thus our LORD is Himself an infallible Witness testifying to the reality and voluntariness of His Death.

(b) The Testimony of S. John.

S. John, "the beloved disciple," testifies as an Eye Witness to the actual Death of our LORD.

S. John saw with his own eyes our LORD die.

S. John was at the very death-moment standing by the cross. He could not have been mistaken with regard to the Death of CHRIST, which he witnessed.

"JESUS saw the disciple *standing by* whom he loved. After this JESUS bowed His head and gave up the ghost" [S. John xxx. 26, 30].

To the actual Death of CHRIST, S. John, as an Eye Witness "standing by," testifies *in express words*, when he thus recalls the dying scene, "The soldiers saw that JESUS *was dead already*" [S. John xix. 33].

Their seeing was one thing. The *fact* they saw was another thing. The fact is CHRIST's Death. To this fact S. John emphatically testifies, when he thus affirms, "JESUS was dead already."

(c) The Testimony of the Roman soldiers.

The executioners of CHRIST were Roman soldiers.

Why did these Roman soldiers refrain from breaking the legs of our LORD? They refrained because "they saw that JESUS *was dead already*." The conduct of the soldiers in not breaking the legs is their testimony to the fact of our SAVIOUR's actual Death.

Our LORD expired at three o'clock in the afternoon. He must have been hanging dead some two hours at least before the order to break His legs, and the legs of His two crucified companions, could have been procured from Pontius Pilate and put into execution. Most ample time had therefore passed for the soldiers to determine, by actual inspection, the reality of the Death of our LORD.

The fact of our LORD's actual Death, established by the unimpeachable testimony of these most competent witnesses, namely, CHRIST Himself, the Apostle S. John, and the Roman soldiers, could not be made stronger by the thrust of the spear of one of their number. The spear-thrust would be simply superfluous, because totally useless.

A swoon from crucifixion would not cease after two or three hours, and could not be taken by the soldiers for actual death.

The Fainting Theory, whether caused by exhaustion or by heart-breaking, is therefore baseless. Because baseless, the theory is an empty assumption. Theories are not facts. We must accept the facts recorded by the Evangelists.

2. The Testimony of S. John to the outflow of Blood and Water from the Side of our LORD.

"One of the soldiers with a spear struck (Greek, *ἐνυξέ*) his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water. And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true; and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe" [S. John xix. 34, 35].

Respecting this testimony of S. John, these facts are most obvious. The testimony is not to the Death of CHRIST. The testimony is to a transaction regarded by S. John as *miraculous*.

(a) The testimony of S. John is not to the Death of CHRIST.

The Death of CHRIST cannot be the object S. John desires to present to the faith of the persons he is addressing in his Gospel [xix. 35].

Everybody believed CHRIST was dead. The Jews be-

lieved it [*S. Matthew* xxvii. 63, 64]. Pilate believed it [*S. Mark* xv. 44]. The Roman soldiers believed it. History, in its widest compass, does not point us to an individual who denied the Death of JESUS of Nazareth, in the time of Pontius Pilate.

(b) The testimony of S. John is exclusively to the outcoming of the Blood and Water from our LORD's unpierced side.

This transaction S. John evidently regards as *miraculous*.

Would we see the full force of his testimony, we must most minutely examine the Greek of *S. John* xix. 35.

The subjoined translation is required by the original language :

The eye witness is testifying : and most true is his own personal testimony : and that eye witness knows that most certain truths is he affirming, that ye yourselves also may believe.

Both in structure and purpose this passage indicates that S. John is here describing a miracle performed by our LORD.

Only in two other places—1 *S. John* i. 1-3, and *S. John* xxi. 24—does he use the same strong Asseverations as in xix. 35.

The Asseverations in these three places are, in effect, identical. But in *S. John* xxi. 24 and 1 *John* i. 1-3 he is describing the miracles of our LORD. Since he uses the same Asseverations in *John* xix. 35 that he uses in xxi. 24 and 1 *John* i. 1-3, the identity of his language in the three places proves that in xix. 35 he is also describing a miracle, likewise wrought by the Incarnate Son of GOD, even when sleeping in the arms of death.

II. THE EXEGETICAL TESTIMONY.

The meaning of ἐνὶ ἡμῶν, *John* xix. 37.

Not a few Modern Commentators maintain that the Greek verb in this place describes a deep and bloody thrust. A single quotation from Dr. H. A. W. Meyer will sufficiently illustrate this fact :

"Νύσσειν always denotes the violent push, a thrust" [*Commentary on S. John* xix. 34].

Dr. Meyer derives his definition of ἐννῆε from the poet Homer, who lived a thousand years before S. John.

But Homer's persons are *demi-gods*. Their exploits are *superhuman*. His own language is necessarily poetical hyperbole and exaggeration.

The Roman soldier who stands by our dead SAVIOUR is not an Ajax. His spear is not an ashen beam 16 feet long. Its stroke is not a thunder-bolt. The Roman Centurion and his quaternion are not Grecian and Trojan giants. Their weapons are not Cyclopiian. Their minds are not the minds of demons set upon destruction. The mythological and unnatural vocabulary of Homer is too vast a mould for casting normal definitions, by which to explain the human Greek used by the Evangelical S. John.

The matter-of-fact use of νύσσω is the only authority we can recognise, when inquiring for the meaning of ἐννῆε [*S. John* xix. 34].

The meaning of νύσσω, in its actual use in prose, is determined by these Greek authorities: The Book of Ecclesiasticus, B.C. 180, and Plutarch and Galen, both of the II. Century of the Christian era, and virtually of the age of S. John.

THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTICUS.

The verb νύσσω occurs in Biblical Greek *only twice*, viz., *S. John* xix. 34 and *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19. "He who strikes the eye brings down its tears. And so he who strikes the heart discloses its feeling."

This passage is the only one in the whole Greek Bible which casts direct light on the meaning of ἐννῆε, *S. John* xix. 34. The words of *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19 are the Bible words which contain a definition of νύσσω, *John* xix. 34. The stroke of νύσσω, *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19, determines the nature of the stroke ἐννῆε, by the soldier's spear, *S. John* xix. 34 effects.

These are the facts respecting νύσσω, *Ecclesiasticus*

xxii. 19, and, therefore, the facts respecting ἐννῆε, *S. John* xix. 34. The stroke occasions only feeling and tears; does not break the skin; does not wound the flesh; is neither deep nor bloody. Such is νόσσω in *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19. But *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19 is the only place, except *S. John* xix. 34, in the Greek Bible, where νόσσω is found. The verb is thus proved by *Bible use* to be a very mild and harmless word. Mild and harmless in *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19, νόσσω must be mild and harmless in *S. John* xix. 34. Indeed, mild and harmless νόσσω actually is in *S. John* xix. 34, unless the context can destroy its mildness and harmlessness. This destruction is absolutely beyond the power of the context. To say, therefore, that the stroke of ἐννῆε, *S. John* xix. 34, is deep and bloody is mere assertion, since *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19 proves it to be no stronger than the touch and slight pressure of a finger. *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19 invests νόσσω with feeble action. Sheer assumption is it to insist that its action is "violent," its cutting is sharp, its wound is bloody and profound. The action of the Bible νόσσω is no stronger than the action of νόσσω in *Ecclesiasticus* xxii. 19.

*Plutarch.
Translation.*

And now come to fight man to man, or in small parties. The Macedonians smote (νόσσοιτες) in vain upon firm and long shields with their little swords; whilst their slight bucklers were not able to sustain the weight and force of the Roman swords, which pierced through (χωρούσας) all their armor to their bodies; they turned, in fine, and fled [*Plutarch's Lives, Battle of Pydna, Clough's Translation, II., p. 177*].

We thus have the meaning Plutarch gives νόσσω. Plutarch, by χωρούσας "pierced through all armor," deprives νόσσω of the exclusive meaning of to pierce. All νόσσω here means is to strike without penetrating. The little swords of the Macedonians did not penetrate, striking (νόσσοιτες) the firm shields of the Romans. Thus Plutarch employs the verb νόσσω to indicate a non-penetrating stroke. In Plutarch νόσσω and χωρέω are in

contrast. The thorough penetration of *χωρέω* is not in this instance the action of *νύσσω*. *Νύσσω* can, then, not pierce through. It cannot pierce at all. It can merely hit and strike.

On account of these verbal usages in Plutarch, the Roman soldier standing by our dead SAVIOUR could not have pierced him in the slightest degree.

GALEN'S DEFINITION OF THE GREEK NOUN NUXIS.

He is describing the difference between the verbs to strike and to cut [*Galenus de constitut. Medicinæ*].

According to Galen, the stroke of *νύσσω* is not deep, but is merely felt and slight.

Claudian Galen, prince of surgeons, as well as prince of physicians, lived in the, II. Century of the Christian era. As a practising surgeon, Galen knew most intimately and most accurately the meaning of the word *νύσσω*. Observe his Greek definitions:

1. *Νύξις* is not a cut. The action of the Verb, then, since not a cut, must be a stroke.

2. The stroke is not deep. The stroke, therefore, is not even a bruise.

3. The stroke is slight. Not a cut, not a bruise, the slight stroke is merely superficial. The stroke is only on the surface.

By his descriptions Galen thus expressly *rejects* from the Verb *νύσσω* the meaning of "*pierce*." To pierce is To thrust deeply.

A deep thrust and a slight and superficial stroke are utter and irreconcilable opposites.

According, then, to Galen's definition of *νύσσω*, this Verb cannot, in *S. John* xix. 34, mean "*pierce*," and should not be so translated by the several Versions into English. In all the English Versions *ἐννύξε*, *S. John* xix. 34, should be translated struck slightly.

Additional Classic Greek, and THE SEPTUAGINT.

Δουρίπληκτος, "Pierced by the spear" [*Æschylus, Thebes*, 278].

Δουρίπληκτος, then, would our LORD have been, in case He was pierced by the spear of the Roman soldier. This is the positive decision of Classic Greek.

In case our LORD was pierced with a spear, He was Δουρίπληκτος.

Consequently, as Δουρίπληκτος, He was the subject of each of its equivalent forms. *Passive*, He was pierced by the spear. *Active*, the Roman soldier thrust the spear into Him.

In case, then, the soldier thrust his spear into our LORD, He must have received the same kind of spear-piercing as King Saul intended for David. Saul was seeking to thrust his spear into David, and he thrust his spear into the wall [1 Samuel xix. 10].

If CHRIST was, on the cross, pierced by the spear, then was He Δουρίπληκτος, pierced by the spear.

Since He was Δουρίπληκτος, His condition as such required Him to receive the identical actions described by the words narrating the conduct of King Saul toward David.

If CHRIST was really Δουρίπληκτος, His condition as such demanded of S. John the exact use, in S. John xix. 34, of this language, "One of the soldiers thrust his spear into the side." If CHRIST was actually pierced by a spear, why did not S. John obey the laws of verbal construction in Greek, and use this very language furnished him by the Septuagint [1 Samuel xix. 10]?

There is but one answer to this question: The answer is decisive and final. Our LORD was not Douriplektos. Our LORD *was not pierced by the soldier's spear*. Because our LORD was *not* pierced, S. John does not employ ἐπάταξε [1 Samuel xix. 10], but prefers the harmless word ἐννῆξε. One of the soldiers, with his spear, slightly struck the side of the lifeless CHRIST.

Thus, *thrice proved to be impotent*, the verb *nusso* has not the power to dislodge the Miracle from the record in S. John xix. 34. The Miracle remains unmoved and immovable. CHRIST alone is the Author of the outflow of the Blood and Water from His mysterious Person.

THE DESIGN OF THE MIRACLE.

The design of the Miracle, and its present Place and Office in His Church, S. John most distinctly shows us in his First Epistle [v. 6-8], where is

The Testimony of S. John respecting the Three Witnesses: The Spirit, The Water, and The Blood.

The Translation of this passage required by the Greek:

This is He who cometh by Water and Blood, JESUS CHRIST. Not by water only, but by the Water and the Blood. Even the Spirit is the Testifier, because the Spirit is Truth. For these are the Testifiers, the Spirit and the Water and the Blood. And so the Three are for the one testimony.

When reading these wonderful words of S. John, we are constrained to ask, What great truths does the passage embody? Most certainly these:

I. S. John here gives his inspired explanation of the miraculous issue from our SAVIOUR's side, and thus exhibits the Design of the Miracle, namely, To repeat and confirm His Two Sacraments.

II. S. John reverses the expression, Blood and Water [S. John xix. 34], into the new expression, Water and Blood. By this change this Apostle teaches us that the Blood and Water issuing from the side of our LORD have a *spiritual significance*. Each element is a separate symbol, or sacrament. The Water is the symbol of CHRIST's *Life*, is the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, in which, by the presence and power of His Spirit, we are made partakers of CHRIST's holy human life.

The Blood is the Symbol of CHRIST's *Death*, the Sacrament of His Atoning Sacrifice. In this Sacrament believing souls partake of the efficacy of His Propitiatory Death, by obtaining the forgiveness of their sins.

Of these Gospel Truths the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist are the outward Witnesses. Of the spiritual blessings of renewal in CHRIST's image, and of forgiveness through His Sacrificial Death, the Spirit of CHRIST is the inward Witness and Author, by witnessing to our consciousness, through the several graces

He imparts to our souls, that we are the spiritual children of GOD; and, because we are His children, bearing on our renewed hearts the holy image of His Incarnate Son, and possessing in this Divine image the inward pledge to "our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in His eternal and everlasting glory," the fruition of CHRIST'S present perfection in His Father's kingdom in heaven.

III. This miraculous exhibition of CHRIST'S power in death imparts most weighty emphasis to these impressive words in our forms for Baptism and Holy Communion:

Whereby ye may perceive the great necessity of this Sacrament, where it may be had. . . . Wherefore, I bid you in the Name of GOD, I call you in CHRIST'S behalf, I exhort you as ye love your own salvation, that ye will be partakers of this Holy Communion.

EXPLANATION OF S. JOHN XX. 24-29.

The words of S. Thomas in the Common Version.

Thomas, one of the twelve, was not with the disciples when JESUS came. The other disciples, therefore, said unto him, We have seen the LORD. But he said unto them, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe. After eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them; then came JESUS, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you. Then saith he to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side: And be not faithless but believing. And Thomas answered and said unto him, My LORD and my GOD! JESUS saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.

There is nothing whatever in any portion of the Greek of this language which conflicts with our interpretation of ἐν ὧς, slightly struck, *S. John xix. 34.*

1. In the whole passage there is no mention made of *the print of the Roman soldier's spear*. While "the print of the nails" is twice mentioned, there is very significant silence with regard to the print of the *spear*. Had there

been in the side of our LORD an actual spear-thrust, its print would have been much larger and a more conspicuous and noticeable object than the smaller prints of the nails. The smaller objects are repeatedly mentioned. The larger and more important mark and proof of personal identity is twice passed by in utter silence. Why this contrasted and unexpected silence? This seems to be the most obvious and the most necessary explanation: The spear-print is not mentioned, because there was none. There was no spear-print for this potent reason: There had been no spear-thrust. Our SAVIOUR'S "most precious side" was not "pierced," was not in the slightest degree wounded.

2. The English Version of *S. John* xx. 25, "I shall thrust my hand into his side," is not warranted by Greek Usage.

Tyndale, indeed, translates the second βαλῶ of *S. John* xx. 25 "thrust," and the English Version, 1611 (not the Westminster, 1881, "put"), follows him. Yet nowhere else in the Gospels but *S. John* xx. 25, 27, does King James' Version translate βάλλω "thrust," but either "cast, lay, put, send, throw."

Moreover, Liddell and Scott [Lexicon, *Seventh Edition*] do not give "thrust" as a definition of βάλλω. All βαλῶ means, *S. John* xx. 25, 27, is expressed by "put" of the Westminster; "put my hand upon his side." The Preposition εἰς does not, with βάλλω, necessarily mean "into," English Version. With βάλλω, εἰς sometimes means upon, and therefore may have this meaning in *S. John* xx. 25, 27.

Examples.

I cast her upon a bed [*Revelation* ii. 22].

In *Revelation* xiv. 19, εἰς, since interchanged with ἐπὶ, "on" (English Version), v. 19, must mean upon. He put his sickle upon the earth, *Revelation* xiv. 19. He put his sickle upon the earth, *Revelation* xiv. 16. Thus, εἰς, *Revelation* xiv. 19, is proved to mean upon.

As *S. John*, the author of the narrative, xx. 24-29,

also wrote the Book of *Revelation*, we have his authority for translating εἰς, *S. John* xx. 25, 27, with βαλῶ in this manner, Put my hand *upon* his side.

THE FINAL WORDS OF S. THOMAS.

The final words of S. Thomas, "My LORD and my GOD" [*S. John* xx. 28], must be interpreted by his preceding words and actions.

(a) When there was this realisation "forthwith came thereout blood and water;" there was no break in our LORD's side; there was no breach in His lifeless body. "Thereout came blood and water," but there was no wound, and consequently there was no subsequent scar.

(b) Previous to our LORD's interview with S. Thomas there had been this occurrence, JESUS showed them His hands and side. Accordingly, the disciples rejoiced because they saw the LORD [*S. John* xx. 20].

The nature of this showing and this seeing is explained by S. Luke, when describing the same events we have just related by S. John: "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: Handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have. And when he had thus spoken, he shewed them His hands and His feet" [*S. Luke* xxiv. 39, 40]. According, then, to S. Luke, our LORD's showing them His hands was not merely stretching forth His hands and His feet toward His disciples, but also directing them to *handle* these scarred members of His risen body.

These words of S. Luke explain the conduct of S. Thomas when thus commanded by our LORD, "Reach hither thy finger and see my hands, and reach out thy hand and put it upon my side" [*S. John* xx. 27].

S. Thomas, in compliance with our LORD's direction, "handled" both His hands and His side.

By handling the scarred hands, S. Thomas is convinced that the man he touches is the same man that was nailed by his hands to the cross, and, therefore, lives again. This conviction constrains S. Thomas to exclaim "My LORD;" the very appellation over which

the disciples rejoiced eight days before, when thus addressed by Him, "Behold my hands and my feet, and that it is I myself" [*S. Luke* xxiv. 39]. I am your LORD.

Handling the side of his LORD, and finding there neither wound nor scar, and thus convinced that the issue of the blood and water was solely GOD's work, S. Thomas is compelled by this conviction to exclaim, in addition, "My GOD;" our LORD's own words on the cross [*S. Matthew* xxvii. 46], thus expressing His full belief in His Father's omnipotence; for the expiring CHRIST added, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit" [*S. Luke* xxiii. 46]. On the lips of our LORD, the exclamation "My GOD" recognises His Father as the GOD receiving His departing spirit into Paradise. On the lips of S. Thomas, the exclamation "My GOD" recognises CHRIST as the GOD, who from the unpierced, unwounded, unopened, perfect side of His dead body caused Blood and Water to flow forth.

From the time of the first union of the Divine and Human natures in CHRIST, the connection is from henceforth inseparable. The Miracle of CHRIST's Incarnation renders all His other Miracles possible. To our limited minds difficulties will present themselves. But in the presence of CHRIST's *Deity* no difficulty is tenable.

THE SYRIAC AND LATIN VERSIONS OF S. JOHN XIX. 34.

Both the Syriac and Latin Versions fully confirm our interpretation of *S. John* xix. 34.

The Syriac Version, probably the production of the Second Century of the Christian era, translates *ἔρνυξε* [*S. John* xix. 34] by *maha*, a verb, which, instead of meaning in this place to "pierce," to thrust through, has simply this signification, to strike without piercing.

PROOF OF THIS MEANING.

In *Acts* xii. 7 the English version has this narrative, "The angel of the LORD smote Peter on the side."

The stroke of the angel was neither cutting nor bloody. Its whole effect was to awaken Peter out of sleep.

But the Syriac verb, *maha*, describing this harmless stroke of the angel, is the very same verb which describes the stroke of the soldier's spear, *S. John* xix. 34, and translates the Greek verb *ῥίσσω* in this verse.

The fact is conclusive proof that the Syriac, *S. John* xix. 34, regarded the action of the verb as merely a stroke. The Syriac verb *maha* has precisely the same meaning in *S. John* xix. 34 the verb has in *Acts* xii. 7. In *Acts* xii. 7 the stroke of this verb is neither cutting nor bloody. Its stroke is, therefore, equally harmless in *S. John* xix. 34. But in *S. John* xix. 34 the harmless Syriac verb *maha* translates the Greek verb *ῥίσσω*. The consequence is decisive. According to the Syriac, the Greek verb *ῥίσσω* neither opens the side of the dead Christ nor causes the blood and water to flow from it.

We have not even yet exhibited all the illustrations of the meaning of the Syriac of *S. John* xix. 34 with which the Syriac of *Acts* xii. 7 enriches us.

In each place the Syriac word for "side" is preceded by the Syriac preposition *Beth*. In *Acts* xii. 7 this preposition cannot possibly mean *into*, but must mean *on*. We cannot translate the Syriac of *Acts* xii. 7 in this way. The angel smote Peter *into* the side. On the contrary, we are obliged to admit this translation of our English Version, "The angel smote Peter *on* the side."

But in *S. John* xix. 34, the Syriac *Beth* has exactly the same meaning the English Version gives this preposition in *Acts* xii. 7, namely, "*on*." This is the only translation the Syriac permits, namely: One of the soldiers smote *on* the side with a lance.

The Syriac thus condemns our own English Version, "One of the soldiers with a spear *pierced* his side."

The Syriac totally rejects this explanation of the transaction, namely, The soldier's spear *entered* our LORD's side. This is in substance the entire declaration of the Syriac of *S. John* xix. 34. The mild and harmless stroke of the soldier's spear was *wholly on the surface* of the body of the Messiah now sleeping in death.

THE LATIN VERSION.

The Latin Version, also of the Second Century, thus translates *S. John* xix. 34, first clause: *Unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit*, "One of the soldiers with a spear opened his side" [Rheims Version, A.D. 1582].

But "opened," the Rheims translation of *aperuit*, cannot be justified. The primary and *literal* meaning of *aperio*, and the only meaning it has in the Vulgate, is to *uncover*.*

Our LORD when crucified was not wholly uncovered. His entire divesting consisted in the removal of His outer garment [*S. John* xix. 23, 24]. Our LORD's outer tunic being the only garment of His in possession of the soldiers, His inner tunic remained untouched on His sacred person during His crucifixion, and during the suspension of His lifeless body on the cross. Thus remaining, His inner tunic may have been gently and partially raised by the soldier's spear, and thus, as the Latin Version teaches, the spear may for a moment have *uncovered*, *aperuit*, His breathless side.

At this point of the investigation we may ask, What is the meaning of the Greek *πλευρά*, and the Latin *latus*? *πλευρά* is the *side* and not *σῆθος*, the heart. *Latus* is also the *side* and not *pectus*, the breast.

It is then quite possible that the side of our LORD the soldier's spear *uncovered*, and in uncovering gently struck, *ἐννῆξε* [*S. John* xix. 34], was one of His *loins*. This possible sense of *πλευρά* and *latus* renders the exact location of the stroke of the soldier's spear on the SAVIOUR's side *impossible* to determine. The assertion that the precise locality was opposite His heart is incapable of proof. All declarations respecting the piercing of His heart are consequently nothing more than conjectures.

Why does the Roman soldier uncover one of CHRIST's *loins*?

An answer which accords with the circumstances may be regarded as probable.

* Harper's *Lat. Dict.*, Concordantiz. F. P. Dutripon.

The loins are a part of the body on which stripes are inflicted [*Ecclesiastum* xxx. 12].

Before His crucifixion, our LORD was severely "scourged" [*S. Matthew* xxvii. 26].

The blood-dried stripes remained on His lifeless body.

One of the four soldiers who balloted for His outer tunic, perhaps the very soldier who uncovered His gashed and bloody side, may have inflicted these cruel and undeserved stripes. In the meantime, each one of CHRIST's executioners has acknowledged His Sonship by this exclamation, "Truly this was the Son of GOD" [*S. Matthew* xxvii. 54].

This confession of faith in CHRIST is the effect of a Divine revelation in their hearts [*S. Matthew* xvi. 17]. We cannot limit the amount of Divine revelation. With the perception of CHRIST's Divine Sonship, the believing soldiers may also have perceived His sacrificial character, and understood by their spiritual illumination that by the very "stripes" they had created, and the very nails they had driven, they themselves were forgiven and "healed" [1 *S. Peter* ii. 24]. The stripes and the nail-prints are now to the soldiers marks of CHRIST's love, and the loving soldier with his spear uncovers the wounded side of the Son of GOD, that the affecting sight may move them all to love Him more fervently in return.

This explanation of the uncovering of the SAVIOUR's side agrees most exactly with S. John's own quotation of the prophet Zechariah [xii. 10], the Greek of which requires this translation: "They shall look *with affection* upon Him whom they killed by piercing" (with the nails) [*S. John* xix. 37]. Since this is the meaning of the passage, it cannot possibly define the subsequent action of the soldier's spear [*S. John* xix. 34].

The real meaning of the Greek *ἐννέει* and the Latin *aperuit* restores to our bereaved sight the true aspects in which the closing scenes of Calvary were witnessed by "the disciple whom JESUS loved," and by CHRIST's mother and the two Marys; and were always reviewed and received by the Church of the first ages of the Gos-

pel. These original aspects differ *toto cælo* (the entire heaven) from the usual visions of the present time.

Instead of a savage soldier, heartless and mechanical, thrusting in brutal wantonness the SAVIOUR'S stiffened breast from one side to the other with a broad-headed javelin, we see in the Roman *quaternion* filial attachment exemplifying Christian graces, and guarding with loving care His still form, now more precious to them than gold of Ophir.

Instead of a naked and unsightly corpse, made hideous and repulsive by deep gashes and oozing gore, there is before our saddened eyes the inoffensive martyr, JESUS of Nazareth, lovely, though dead, covered, unmutilated (after he was nailed to the cross), and ready to be "wound in the linen clothes with the heavy mixture of myrrh and aloes; as the manner of the Jews is to bury" [*S. John* xix. 39, 40].

The scene of the crucifixion of GOD'S and the world's Messiah is, indeed, an indelible stigma upon those who caused it, and a darkened sun will always rest upon His cross. But the Evangelists have softened and brightened its hard and dark features by the dawning illumination of CHRIST'S returning life. This prophetic and cheering radiance we must not fail to see and employ for our guidance and comfort.

We desire to contemplate anew the original sights which marked the fading hours of the Crucifixion Day: The jeering rabble has departed. Only friends stand around the acknowledged Son of GOD, slumbering for a brief season in the embrace of death. The Christian women who followed Him from Galilee, and now standing near, beholding with adoring and gratified wonder * His reassertion of saving power by converting his Roman executioners.

This transformed outlook and retrospect of Golgotha which the Gospel records, rightly interpreted by the Syriac and Latin Churches, and by the Church of England and her American daughter, is itself an efficient power.

* *Θεωποδοίαι*, *S. Matthew* xxvii. 55.

While the true view is the RESTORATION OF A LOST MIRACLE OF OUR LORD, the original outlook at the same time shuts away from our pained vision the present abounding distortions and exaggerations often obscuring the quiet and instructive scene, and also excludes the aggressive conjectures of Modern Science, with all its repellant horrors.

Christianised Golgotha turns "the place of a skull" into a radiant ground reflecting this promise, "As in Adam all die, even so *in Christ shall all be made alive*" [1 Cor. xv. 22], and exhibits the armed Romans confessing CHRIST, as living pledges of a great army of Gentiles, who will, in the fast approaching future, win the world to the dominion of the risen and ascended Son of Man, "the King of Kings and the LORD of LORDS."

SAMUEL FULLER.

IS CREMATION UNCHRISTIAN ?

WITHIN the past few years especial attention has been called to the evils resulting from the disposal of the remains of the dead by inhumation or burial in the earth.

The better knowledge of sanitary laws—that is, of the conditions under which the health of the living may be preserved—has led many to ask the question whether the present mode of inhumation may not in some cases, or in many, be superseded by something better.

In response to the question there have been various answers.

Some have recommended burial beneath the waters of the sea. One writer, Veritz, proposed that a ship should be in waiting at each sea-port to receive the daily contingent of the dead from the cities and towns within a given area, and then, at an appointed hour each day, should sail out to the deep waters, and reverently, with religious rites, commit the bodies to the keeping of the “mystic main” until the sea should give up its dead.

Another plan suggested is that of petrifying the bodies by chemical process. It includes the injection of chemicals and then the burial of the body in some chemically prepared soil. The waters of certain springs and peculiar layers of earth have been known to petrify human remains, and even where actual petrification has not taken place, the bodies have been singularly preserved. Thus, in 1569, three Roman soldiers were dug out of a peat-bog where they had been for fifteen hundred years. Four hundred and sixty-three years after the body of Edward I. was buried, it was exhumed and found free from decay.

It is suggested that modern chemical science is ade-

quate to the preparation of compounds that would have this same effect, so that in the future the necessary appendage to the undertaker's establishment would be the chemist's laboratory, where, by some simple treatment, this fabric of flesh might become stone.

A third suggestion is the revival of the old process of embalming, or rather it is a modification of the old process.

Embalming, for the temporary preservation of the remains of the dead, is very frequently done now, so that whenever it is desired that a funeral may be delayed a week or two, or the body transported a great distance, the embalmer's skill is called into requisition, and usually with entire success.

The suggestion of some is to combine the external applications used by the ancients and the injected chemical solutions used to-day, and thus to postpone for many years the crumbling away of earth to earth and the return of dust to dust.

Still another suggestion is that of encrusting the remains with a cement which in time becomes as hard as stone.

Some German writers urge that the dead body be first coated with this cement, then placed in a receptacle, a cave in the earth built of stone and cement, and finally that the fluid cement be poured freely all around, so that the body would be thus "entombed in a solid matrix of long-enduring material."

Burial at sea, petrification, embalming, and encrusting, each of these processes has its advocates.

It is not necessary to point out here the objections, more or less weighty, which are urged against them all, if any one of them be pressed as a general substitute for the now common usage of inhumation or burial in the earth.

Burials at sea there will be so long as death sails with the helmsman of the ship, or waits upon the sunken rock the on-rushing steamer.

But to make the ocean the burial place of the ten thousand times ten thousand who die on land is not

practicable, even if it were free from most serious objections.

Petrification, embalming, and encrusting will be practised in some cases, but cannot become general, for the simple reason that it is most desirable that the remains of the dead should be resolved into their primal elements, and perhaps as rapidly as possible.

To accomplish the most rapid decomposition, and to render it harmless to the living, it has been proposed to call in the aid of fire and heat. This process is usually known as Cremation. It is not something new, but is a revival, under the improved appliances of modern science, of the funeral pyre of the ancients.

And yet it so differs from the ancient funeral pyre as to be free from revolting publicity and from all offensiveness. It is not necessary to describe it in detail beyond the mere statement that furnaces have been invented by which an intense heat is produced without having the flame come into contact with the body, and by means of this great heat a human body can be reduced to ashes in from fifty minutes to three hours.

The main objection urged against cremation is that it is Unchristian. There are lesser objections made to it, some of them arising from popular ignorance and misconception, and others from sentimental considerations; but after all, that which stands most in the way of any frequent, not to say general, adoption of this process of disposing of the remains of the dead, is the fear that it is unchristian.

If this fear can be relieved, if the Christian public can be convinced that there is nothing in this process really antagonistic to any essential doctrine of our religion—however much it may be a departure from the usages of the Christian centuries—the way may be opened for the adoption of cremation wherever the exigencies of the case point out the need of some process different from that of inhumation or burial in the ground.

Cremation, like many another good thing, has unfortunately been weighted down by some foolish notions of some of its over-ardent advocates, has been made the

theme of the newspaper caricaturist's pen and pencil, and has received the angry blows of some who have struck at it in blind ignorance or wilfulness. But, after all, as has been said, the great obstacle has been and is the impression held by many, that its introduction will somehow lessen the hold that the Christian Faith now has upon the masses. One of the English Bishops is reported to have said that nothing would so undermine the Faith of the world in the doctrine of the Resurrection. Others, in the ministry and out of the ministry, have done their utmost to array the sentiment of the Christian public against it by statements and arguments of a like tenor, so that, in the judgment of many to-day, it has become a Christian duty to oppose cremation, and they stigmatise as atheists all who favor it.

Referring to the absurd views of some of the advocates of cremation, it must be admitted that there has been much that has been intensely repulsive in their suggestions, as, for example, that of Sir Henry Thompson, who proposed that the ashes of the dead might be utilised for the fertilisation of the soil; that of some one else, who proposed the making of illuminating gases; that of a fanciful Frenchman, who proposes the building of the furnace stack in the cemetery tall enough to permit all to watch the escaping gases, and thus to see the mingling of the elements of the body with the air; and that of others, as to the storage of the funereal urns on the parlor mantel-shelf.

Sir Henry Thompson's notion is no more repulsive, however, than the actual facts continually brought to light as to the treatment of the buried bodies of the dead, such as the selling of the mould of an old English churchyard, some years ago, to the neighboring farmers for spreading upon their fields, or the use made on Egyptian railways of the mummies for fuel for the engines, or even the disposition made of the long-buried bodies of the pauper dead, cast out from the burial-places within the precincts of great cities, to become the property of curiosity seekers, or to be thrown into sinks and cesspools.

It may be affirmed that every suggestion—however absurd, however repulsive it may be—which has been made by any advocate of cremation, can be paralleled by the actual treatment of the bodies of the dead committed to the earth, so that cremation really receives no actual injury from the vagaries of a few of its advocates, and may be considered entirely apart from everything absurd or repulsive which some have associated with it.

If it is a convenient way of disposing of the remains of the dead, if it avoids the injury to the living which results so often from the general practice of inhumation; but, above all, if it is a practice consistent with Christianity, then there is no reason why it should not be recognised as both allowable under most circumstances, and desirable under many.

It is not claimed that it should ever become even general, much less that it should be made compulsory, but that, in compliance with the previously expressed wish of the deceased person, or where sanitary conditions are the better secured, cremation may be as reputable a process as burial at sea, or embalming, or inhumation are now.

It cannot become a reputable process until Christian people are convinced that it is not unchristian. The time has come to examine it seriously lest, as one has well said, the burning of the dead fall altogether into infidel hands and thus become at last the symbol of irreligion.

Practically, cremation is to-day the symbol of irreligion with many, and partly because but little effort has been made to show that it is not unchristian, and especially, that it does not oppose any correct belief in the doctrine of the Resurrection or in any related doctrine of our religion.

One of the most notable utterances in this direction of correct teaching was that made by the Bishop of Manchester in 1874. In an address made at the consecration of a cemetery, he wished his hearers "to dissociate the Resurrection from physical conditions," for, said he, it is no more impossible for God to raise up a body at the Resurrection, if needs be, out of elementary particles *which had been*

liberated by the burning, than it would be to raise up a body from dust, and from the elements of bodies which had passed into the structure of other bodies.

The same Bishop uttered like sentiments at a Social Science gathering, but there are very few who have spoken outright with the view of correcting popular prejudices against cremation, and this silence has been often interpreted by the general public as endorsing the statements made by others, that the burning of the remains of the dead is unchristian.

It must be frankly admitted that the opponents of cremation have a seeming advantage in the discussion when they appeal to Christian usage, for it is undeniably the case that burials by inhumation and by sepulchre have been the almost invariable practices from the first Christian century, and that these modes of burial were at one time marks of Christianity as distinguished from paganism.

It is also true that tribes, which at one time practised incineration of the remains of the dead, gave it up when they became converts to the Christian Faith.

Moreover, some of the early Church Fathers very bitterly reproached the pagan for the burning of the dead, and referred to Christian burial as an indication of the superiority of the Christian religion over the pagan.

To return now to the funereal pyre seems indeed to some like a return to paganism, and they ask, What right have we to change a custom so associated with our religion, and which has been for so long a time a distinguishing mark of Christianity? The matter is very strongly put by one who writes thus:

The whole surroundings accompanying the act of burial among Christians were so marked and so reverent that they stamped the rite as Christian. Julian, the apostate emperor, acknowledged that austerity of life, hospitality, and reverent burial of the dead, were the powerful influences that gave Christians the conversion of the empire. Christian burial had its motive in the faith in the Resurrection, and therefore, the body that God would so care for as to bring again from its dust must be reverently laid away. To attack this loving care of the Christian for the remains of his loved one was a controlling cause why so many martyrs were burnt by heathen magistrates.

While admitting, therefore, the uniformity of Christian usage, and while realising the truth of the assertion that at one time the mode of burial was a mark by which the Christian was distinguished from the pagan—it is by no means necessary to believe that the usage of burial by sepulchre or inhumation was never to be departed from; nor does departure from it to-day involve in any way any disbelief in the doctrine of the Resurrection and immortal life.

It must be remembered that there is no command in the Scriptures as to the mode of burial, nor, especially, is there any command as to the mode of burial associated with any of the teachings of our LORD and the Apostles. Moses and the Prophets nowhere legislated against incineration, and no precept of the New Testament is directed against it, although it was practised by the surrounding nations. Jahn says that

the ancient Hebrews seem to have considered burning the body a matter of great reproach, and rarely did it except when they wished to inflict the greatest ignominy.

He cites *Genesis* xxxviii. 24, where there is the account of Judah's order for the burning of Tamar the harlot. Whether the order was to put her to death by burning, or to consume her body thus after death, does not appear, but it probably meant burning alive, which was certainly an ignominious mode of punishment. But the order was not executed in her case. Its edge was taken off and her doom averted by the revelation she made of Judah's own complicity in her sin. Tamar's case, therefore, does not show any more than that burning the living body was the most ignominious form of punishment known to the ancient Hebrews. It has no bearing one way or the other upon the question of disposing of the remains of the dead.

Another reference to burning, in the Old Testament, is the case of Saul and his three sons. They fell upon the field of battle, and the Philistines, exulting in victory, cut off Saul's head and nailed his body and the bodies of his three sons to the walls of Bethshan.

Some of the valiant friends of the king went by night and rescued the bodies. To save them from again falling into the hands of the Philistines, these friends burnt them at Jabesh, and buried what was left under a tree. *This act of theirs met no censure.*

One hundred and forty years afterward, beginning with the case of Asa, it would seem that burning was not an uncommon mode of disposing of the remains of the dead prior to committing the ashes to the sepulchre. Such passages as *Amos vi. 10*, and *Jeremiah xxxiv. 5*, are sometimes cited in support of this view. It is fair, however, to add that there are commentators who say that the burnings referred to were not of the bodies, but of spices, perfumes and the like, as part of the religious ceremony and in honor of the deceased. But others think that these spices and perfumes were a part of the funereal pyre accompanying the burning of the body.

Whatever exegetes may decide as to the exact meaning of these passages, it is quite clear that there is no explicit prohibition of incineration in the Old Testament.

After the captivity, the sentiment of the Jews was decidedly against incineration, and the practice of burial in caves and sepulchres prevailed among them at the dawn of Christianity.

This practice was adopted by the first Christians, and for two reasons: First, because, as they had been Jews, they would naturally continue the usage unless forbidden by the precepts of their new faith. New converts to Christianity would, of course, conform to the usage they found prevailing.

Second—the funereal pyre of the pagan was in many ways most repulsive, both to the senses and also to the religious convictions of the Christians. It was not, as is the modern scientific process of cremation, a rapid reduction of the remains of the dead to ashes, the flames not touching the body; but the body was thrown upon a heap of combustible materials and burnt in the presence of spectators, presenting in the process much that was most revolting. When to so much that was thus repulsive were added the pagan libations to the

gods, the other ceremonies associated with idolatry, and the wails of relatives who sorrowed as those who had no hope, it is not surprising that the Christians would prefer the then prevalent Jewish mode of burial, and that into it they would bring the religious rites which set forth the facts that the body is the Temple of the HOLY GHOST, that CHRIST'S incarnation exalts our flesh, and that through Him, who is the resurrection and the life, they who sleep in Him shall awaken again to die no more.

The Christians shrank in disgust and terror from the pagan funereal pyre, as indeed they did from other pagan usages. An important instance of their utter aversion to everything that had formerly been associated with paganism is their treatment of the plastic arts.

Poetry and music they adopted at once. They could derive these from a pure source, viz., from Judaism, but for a time there was no Christian painting, carving, or statuary, because these had been perverted to idolatry and to lasciviousness.

There grew up a positive hostility to art—so much so, that a piece of statuary in a home, at one period, indicated that, whatever else that home was, it was not a Christian home.

But this aversion to art did not always continue; for, beginning probably in the rude carving on the stone that marked the sepulchre of the departed, art culture spread onward until it passed into the church edifices for symbolism, and for decoration, to beautify the places of worship, and to teach through the eye the truths heard by the ear.

The Church finally became the patron of art; Christian facts and doctrines provided the themes, and gave the inspiration to the workers. Then came the period when the Church stood as the protector of art, actually holding in her keeping, as most worthy to be defended, these accessories which she once despised.

The progress was from aversion to toleration, from toleration to use, from use to patronage, and finally from patronage to protection.

And so might it have been with reference to the funeral pyre but for two reasons—first, the absorption of the once pagan races by Christianity led to the decay of the usage of incinerating the remains of the dead; and, second, some erroneous views of the resurrection of the body which were held by many helped to maintain the old prejudices until the present practice of inhumation became endeared by long-continued and widespread association.

And this leads very naturally to a consideration of what lies at the basis of much of the present prejudice against cremation: *It is that conception of the doctrine of the Resurrection which requires the reanimation of the identical particles of the body in the same order in which they existed here, and with the same properties.* One of the old masters represented the dead at the last judgment as breaking forth through the crust of the earth. Here an arm and there a leg were thrust through, and there a body was partly liberated. A modern preacher is reported to have outdone the painter in his fanciful description of the scenes of the last day, for he pictured the dis severed members flying through the air to find the bodies to which they had once been joined, but from which they had by accident, or war, or the disturbance of burial-places been removed.

The vision of Ezekiel—the valley filled with the dry bones—is sometimes cited to uphold such a view, but, to say the least of it, it is a weak exegesis which would defend the doctrine of the reanimation of the identical particles in the same order in which they existed here, by citing a vision which referred to the renewal of a nation.

The early Church could not have held such a view of the Resurrection, for they had continually before them the spectacle of martyrs burned at the stake or devoured by wild beasts. This gross materialistic renewal of the bodies of the dead, coming to life again bearing their scars and wearing the exact shape which they had at death, was not formulated in the doctrines of primitive Christianity. They did not define the mode of the resur-

rection, even when they made such strong declarations to the heathen as "You may cause our bodies to be ground beneath the teeth of wild beasts, you may scatter our ashes to the four winds—yet GOD will cause us to live again. You cannot defeat His purposes to awaken us at the coming of His Son."

They had implicit confidence in the power of GOD to do as He had promised. Said Monica, the mother of Augustine,—

It matters but little to me where you bury my remains. My GOD, who has been so faithful to me, will watch over them and restore me to life again."

And as another has said :

The elementary materials whereof the corrupted body was composed are still in existence ; and the Omniscient knows where they are, and the Omnipotent can collect them together again.

But the bodies of the redeemed are not to be raised as mortal, as corruptible, as fleshly bodies, but as immortal, as incorruptible, as glorious, as spiritual. He who has all power brings together again the now purified elementary materials of the body, in such way that individuality is preserved ; that there may be union ; and that

the resurrection body may become a transparent manifestation of the soul's spiritual nature.

Corporeity is elevated into the sphere of the spirit, and becomes a manifestation of the spirit.

The resurrection body is a spiritual body.

Composed of matter—it is matter sublimated, spiritualised, changed, and partaking now of spiritual properties.

If for the integrity of the resurrection body it be essential that every particle of which the once material body was composed be gathered together, and transmuted by the touch of GOD into that which is spiritual, He has the power to gather from every source whither the particles have been dispersed whatever it needs. There can be no loss of the material, however much it changes its form.

The dispersion of the particles of the body is as inevitable in the case of those inhumed as in the case of those incinerated.

Think of the mutations which have been going on these many years past in that silent grave in the cemetery, until, if you dig down to-day, there may be found nothing bearing the semblance of a human form. The great tree whose roots ran down deep beneath the surface has been nourished by the changes which have taken place in that grave, by the gases evolved and the nutriment provided.

In the alchemy of nature, what were once the particles of a human body have gone into the substance of the tree, and the leaves of the tree have been falling these many autumns past to be blown hither and thither by the winds, until, decaying, they fertilise other soil.

Not more complete is the dispersion of the particles by means of fire than is the work done by the chemical agents of the sea upon the body buried many fathoms deep beneath its surface.

There is no such thing, even in the rare cases of petrification of human remains, as the body remaining as it was when the spirit fled. It was not adamant when the hour of death was struck, nor will it be so when the soul comes back to reanimate it. It must be changed. The mere holding together of the same particles, whether in the enclosure of a sepulchre, or in a never-disturbed grave, or by petrification, is not in any sense a prerequisite for the resurrection of the body. The elementary materials necessary for its reconstruction are in the safe keeping of the LORD, wherever He sees proper to bestow them. It is not necessary that He should bind them in parcels and label them. They are as safe scattered to the poles, borne on the wings of the wind, stored in the vapors of the seas, mingled with the gases of the volcano, as if they were removed to storehouses constructed of materials more imperishable than aught we know of.

Barring out this utterly untenable view, that the resurrection implies the actual renewal of the exact particles

in the exact order and in the form they had when the body was buried—barring out the view, there is no conception of the doctrine of the Resurrection which cremation antagonises, for it is simply the rapid reduction of matter to other forms. It is the hastening of a process which goes on under every other mode. It does not make it incredible that God should raise the dead. It puts no barrier in the way of faith. It bids men still look to Him who is the Resurrection and the Life, and at Whose coming the dead shall awaken.

Instead of overturning the faith of men in the future rising from the dead, as was objected by the English Bishop before quoted, may it not help draw attention to more correct views of the resurrection, and make men more trustful in Him who by His power created all things, and who has but to say to the elements give back and they obey Him?

The unscriptural view of the Resurrection which incineration antagonises is itself to be held accountable for much of the lack of faith in the Resurrection. To ask men to believe that the long-buried dead shall come forth from the identical graves where they were once placed, come forth clad in their grave-clothes, their features marked, seamed, and furrowed, and every physical peculiarity exactly reproduced, so that they shall be as the men who walked the streets yesterday, or who lay upon sick-beds in their homes—to ask men to believe this is to ask their faith in an unscriptural view of the Resurrection, and many find themselves unable to accept it. The primitive Church wisely refrained from defining the mode of the Resurrection, and contented itself with the article of the Apostles' Creed: "I believe in the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting." Under this simple but comprehensive article of the Faith there are many individual opinions, and no one has any right to press his own view as the only correct representation of the doctrine, or to bind others to anything more than to the *general* statements of the doctrine found in the Scriptures.

The mode of the Resurrection has not been revealed.

It is a great mystery, but the power of the Infinite is pledged to its accomplishment, and therefore it is not to be thought a thing incredible that God should raise the dead.

Said a traveller :

I looked into the deep well in the crypt of the monastery, and when the guide lowered down his torch I saw at the bottom a heap of dust, the last vestiges of hundreds of bodies once animated with the breath of life. My soul grew heavy as the despairing question came to me, How can these live again? and I fled away, but as I fled my eyes caught sight of the initials of the CHRIST carved upon the stone, and my doubts all fled, for He is the King of Death and Hell.

Cremation, then, does not antagonise any *allowable* view of the doctrine of the Resurrection, but does it not do violence to Christian sentiment in that it seems to heap indignity upon the bodies of the dead, and seems to prevent those tender ministrations by which the living show forth their belief that the body has been made sacred by the incarnation of the CHRIST and the indwelling of the Spirit?

If it were proposed to bring back the funeral pyre of the ancients, with its revolting associations, it would indeed seem like treating the Christian dead with indignity; but, as was before stated, the modern crematory furnace proposes to reduce rapidly, without offending any of the senses of the living, the remains of the dead.

It is not made, as was the case with the funeral pyre, a revolting spectacle, causing one to shrink away in terror; but the funeral procession, coming as now from the church to the cemetery, finds, instead of a yawning grave or an open vault, a simple structure of bricks or stone, into which the coffin is lowered as the committal sentence is said. In an hour or two later, immediately following the committal, if it be so desired, the work of incineration is completed; a few pounds of ashes are left in the clean, interior furnace, to be gathered up, placed in an urn, or buried in the ground.

It is probable that the crematory furnace may become the appendage to the mortuary chapel, so that the casket

may be lowered into the receptacle beneath, with the words of the committal sentence, "ashes to ashes."

There is no indignity cast upon the dead, but there is the avoidance of that possible indignity to which, in so many forms, our present practice of inhumation subjects the bodies of the departed.

Whoever has witnessed the revolting scenes connected with the removal of an old cemetery, upon which the advancing city has crowded; whoever has read of the ravages of floods and freshets, which are possible almost anywhere; and whoever has seen the condition of neglected graveyards, will freely admit that there are indignities possible under our present practice which are almost too shocking to recount.

One of the most recent cases of the kind was told, a few weeks ago, in a Philadelphia paper. The reporter described a scene in the very heart of the business section of that city—street gamins playing foot-ball with a human skull, and curiosity-seekers carrying off fragments of human bones. An old graveyard had been sold for business purposes. The graves were dug up, and the bodies reinterred; but when they began to excavate the earth still deeper for cellars, they found a layer of bodies underneath. It was literally one graveyard on top of another, and no one knew of the existence of the under one until the cellars were dug, and then, as no one wanted to be at the expense of re-removing these forgotten sleepers, there were enacted the revolting scenes described in the newspaper.

The rapid resolution of the material of the body into its primal elements most effectually prevents much of this; and, after all, it is only hastening a process which takes place in the grave, compressing into a few hours the slower process of many years, and defending the departed from the indignities which may come to any buried body in the long interval between its interment and its crumbling to dust.

Cremation does no indignity to the body, nor does it prevent those ministrations which affection and reverence prompt, and to which religion gives her sanctions.

There may be as now the preparations for the burial; the solemn procession of the Clergy, the Choristers, the mourners, and the friends; the burial chants, and words of Scripture; the tender address of comfort; the Eucharistic celebration, and whatever else may be thought by any to lend impressiveness to such an occasion, and to give expression to Christian hope. The only difference comes afterward, when, instead of leaving the body to the slow process of decay in the grave, this process is hastened by fire, and the ashes are committed to ashes—in the hope of a joyful resurrection of the body of the Christian departed. Nothing that is tender, seemly, or affectionate is necessarily checked.

But, after all, say some, if cremation is not unchristian, why should it take the place of interment by sepulchre and grave, which has prevailed so long?

It is not urged as a general substitute. Many who have examined it simply claim that it should be recognised as a proper mode, and as a mode to be desired under certain circumstances. The main argument in its favor is based upon sanitary considerations. Wherever the health of the living is affected by the burial of the dead there cremation *may* be practised, perhaps *should* be practised.

We are learning more, year by year, of the duty of keeping the air and the water free from contamination. The conditions under which human beings may live together in a healthful state are becoming better understood, and it is felt to be a religious duty to keep the body in health, as it is to keep it in chastity and temperance.

It becomes evident that the overcrowding of burial-places, and the very presence of burial-places within the limits of densely populated cities, are prejudicial to health. It is found, moreover, that the germs of certain contagious diseases have most persistent vitality, so that the bodies of those who die of these diseases retain the power of infection for ten, twenty, thirty, yes, for many more years later.

Instances of this kind are numerous and well authen-

ticated. A fever once decimated an English village, and the dead were buried where the feeble living could lay them. Fifty years later, when the growth of improvements made excavation necessary, the removal of the bodies buried during the time of the fever proved fatal to the workmen.

It is the opinion of some that the germs of certain diseases cannot be destroyed except by fire.

The reopening of one grave may spread a fever that will compel the making of a hundred new graves, and the taking of water from an impregnated spring or well may affect the health of a thousand.

And yet, when these sorrows come, they are spoken of by some as mysterious visitations of Divine Providence. The truth is they are the penalties which come from the breaking of His laws.

It cannot be questioned that the health and well-being of the living are as important as the repose of the bodies of the dead, and that circumstances may arise when it is a religious duty so to dispose of the remains of the dead as that they will not be sources of disease and death to others.

Within late years the protection of the residents of cities has been aimed at by the passage of laws forbidding intramural interments, and popular sentiment has grown favorable to the disuse of small and crowded burial-places and the laying out of others far beyond the built-up limits.

In one large city it was proposed to have a daily train, leaving its central and subordinate stations, and carrying the funeral companies to the far distant cemetery.

But who can tell how long before any cemetery, however distant it may be to-day, may be encroached upon by the advancing population of the town or city?

Burial-places which but twenty years ago were thought to be so far remote and so well protected that they would never be disturbed, are to-day within the lines of the cities' growth, and are doomed.

It may be said that there is room enough on and in the bosom of the earth for all the living and for all the

dead, and it is true; but just as the area of occupation of the earth's surface by the living is determined by circumstances which are powerful enough to control selection of places of man's habitation, so there are circumstance which indicate the area within which men are forced to bury the dead. *If the dead are buried, they must find their resting-places near the abodes of the living.*

The very expense of transfer is now so considerable that in some places people in moderate circumstances bury their dead in cemeteries so crowded that the digging of a new grave is always the signal for disturbing graves previously made there. In other places the surroundings are so revolting that every delicate feeling is shocked, and the question is started, whether, after all, inhumation may not be so done as to be itself the most unchristian of all rites.

The problem therefore is, and always will be, how to dispose of the remains of the dead that the living may not suffer. Its answer may vary in different places and at different times. Burial at sea, burial in caves, and in the earth, embalming, and petrification—any of these methods may meet the demands in ordinary cases, but there are cases where cremation of the remains of the dead will more effectually than any other mode protect the living, and, inasmuch as cremation is not unchristian, it should be permitted and encouraged where it is deemed to be the best.

The purpose of this paper will be entirely misunderstood if any one gains the impression from it that it advocates the complete or general substitution of cremation for inhumation, or for any other mode of burial. The aim has been to remove one of the objections which prevent cremation's being properly considered by large classes of persons for whom life and death have vaster meanings than they have for the materialist and the unbeliever. To the Christian, the incarnation of the Son of God is the central fact in all history, for He is the new man, the LORD from heaven, the Head of the new creation, the first fruits of them that slept, and the beginning of the harvest of the redeemed.

In His becoming incarnate for us, and for our salvation, He has sanctified our humanity, and through His resurrection He has won the victory over death, and opened for us the gates of life.

His incarnation has far-reaching consequences, extending beyond the limited sphere of the present life, and affecting the destiny both of soul and of body.

We know not what we shall be, but when He shall appear we shall be like Him.

They who receive such beliefs as these, and who are inspired by hopes such as these, see the wondrous significance of existence, and appreciate the sanctity of the human body, as well as the sanctity of the human soul.

If cremation be in any way contrary to any precept of Christianity, or if it in any way be a dishonoring of the body redeemed by CHRIST, and made sacred by the indwelling of the HOLY SPIRIT, then it never can be even tolerated. It must be condemned and opposed.

But if cremation can be divested of the pagan associations which clustered about the old funeral pyre; if it in no way militates against any allowable view of the resurrection of the dead; if it can be conducted with religious rites to comfort the living with the hope of a future reunion of the Christian departed in the kingdom of GOD—then cremation is not unchristian.

On the contrary, as Christianity seeks the welfare of the living as well as the honor of the dead, there may be circumstances where the most Christian thing to do is to incinerate the remains of the dead.

GEORGE W. SHINN.

THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH.

ALL power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach [make disciples of] all nations, baptising them in the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.—S. Matthew xxviii. 18–20.

CHRIST loved the Church, and gave Himself up for it, that He might sanctify it, having cleansed it by washing of water with the word, that He might present the Church to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.—Ephesians v. 25–27.

The house of GOD, which is the Church of the living GOD, the pillar and ground of the truth.—I Tim. iii. 15.

These passages unite, inseparably, the idea of Missions with the idea of the Church. They are not so united in the practice of the Church to-day. There are Foreign Missions, Domestic Missions, Diocesan Missions, Parochial Missions, City Missions, Missions to the Jews, Missions to the Germans, Mexican Missions, Chinese Missions, Colored Missions, Indian Missions, Associate Missions, and simply "Missions," with preaching "Missioners;" the Women's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions; together with the various Boards, Committees, Agents, Appeals, Organs, and Treasuries to set forth their varied needs and claims. Converts, and children growing up in the Church, get their ideas from our practice, not from our theories. A parent or Sunday-school teacher imparts the information, from our standards, to the young that the Church is one, that her mission is to every creature, that every baptised person

is a missionary in his sphere and station as a member of CHRIST; but the instructed goes into the House of God to worship and listen to an appeal for this or that Mission, or possibly the relative merits and claims of two or three. The appeal comes to him as something distinct from his obligation as a member of that parish, and is placed in competition with a score of other *claims* of the same kind. It is more than probable that he goes home to hear at the dinner-table some grumbling remarks about "everlasting begging," that "charity begins at home," or that "it is dishonest to give until people pay their just debts." It is impossible to juggle with words in such a way as to make this practice harmonise with the ideas embraced in the passages of Scripture at the head of this article.

If the idea of the Church were purely subjective, in which the believer dwells in CHRIST, and CHRIST in him, by the inward consciousness of grace imparted, without prescribed duties and reciprocal obligations, in a visible society, then the absolutely voluntary system might be reasonably urged, and Mr. Moody be a good example of the Mission of the Church. If, on the other hand, the idea of the Church were entirely objective, and the believer joined to CHRIST through the *opus operatum* of the Church's ordinances, then Vaticanism is the highest type of Mission.

If the idea be merely to learn and live "the true, the beautiful, and the good," then the efforts of modern civilisation, impregnated by policy or tradition with Christian morality, to promote science, art, culture, and morals, as existing in embryo in the Divine Man, JESUS of Nazareth, are the legitimate missionary undertakings to promote the welfare of man.

If, however, the idea of the Church and her Mission is not of man at all, but the product of the Councils of Heaven, the field of our thought and action is circumscribed by the terms of the Divine idea.

Man is a Divine idea. "Let us make Man in Our image" is followed by the creation and the inspiration of the breath of life, and man became a living soul.

The Church is a Divine idea. "On this Rock I will build my Church" is followed by the incorporation of a handful of men (Adam-earth) into an organic Body, into which came the life-giving Spirit, and the Church became a living soul.

Bearing in mind that the Apostolic Commission, recorded by S. Matthew, was not written until (according to earliest date) twelve years after the fulfilment of the Divine idea on the day of Pentecost, it must be understood and interpreted according to the intention of the mind which uttered it, and limited to the Body which received a Divine Form and was animated by a Divine Life. S. Matthew must have so understood it. The people who read it, incorporated into the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, continuing daily in the breaking of bread and prayers, must have so received it. Even supposing that S. Matthew or his readers did not so understand it, yet the later writings of S. John, and his record of JESUS' message to the seven Churches of Asia, together with the experience of history, would show that the Spirit who guided S. Matthew's pen was wiser than he thought. The experience of history shows that all efforts to obey the injunction, "Go ye into all the world," by other than the organic Life created and inspired from on high, and all dereliction or misapprehension of duty on her part, however successful they may appear to be for a longer or shorter period, eventually bring disgrace upon the cause which they represent. When S. Paul wrote to the Romans, "how shall they preach except they be sent," he implied, if our position be correct, that he who preached must first be called, tried, instructed, examined, and commissioned by that Body which received its creation and life from on high. For this reason the Church claims that it is neither pride nor assumption, but simply obedience to orders, which forbids the application of "Go ye into all the world" to Mr. A, B, or C, and confines it to the historic Church, which is the Body of CHRIST, "the pillar and ground of the truth."

In spite of the babel of voices, all claiming to speak

in the Name of and for CHRIST, as missionaries of the Cross, this apostolic Commission, taken in connection with the creation and inspiration of an organic Body, proves that one among them has a Divine right to be heard. Applying the Commission to this organic Divinely created Body, its terms make these propositions infallibly true:

1. There never could have been a time when He was not present with His Church.
2. Therefore He is present with His Church to-day.
3. Therefore His Church must be present on the earth to-day in order that He may be present with it.
4. His promise to it *as a Body* must exclude the promise to any member not in union with the Body.

If a man abide not in Me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered, and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned.

5. It must exclude the promise to any organisation of subsequent formation which did not proceed from the will and action of the Body to whom the promise was given. Otherwise GOD is fickle and changeable, and the author of confusion, which is impossible.

6. Therefore any man or body of men which is not authorised by the Church, or cannot derive its authority successively from the Church, is not, as an organisation, a part of the organic life of the Church.

These propositions will hardly be disputed in the Church. The Divine creation and Divine sanction must be the first ground of confidence and hope in the one who preaches or ministers, and be the assurance given to those to whom he is sent—a Divine society, into which the believer is incorporated by outward sign and inward grace, by faith, by obedience, by love, by patience, by perseverance, through evil report and good report, by exaltation or by abasement, by joy and by suffering, and in which, if he continues unto death, he is saved now and forever.

There is no room for doubt—it is God's provision and promise. There is no room for boasting—it is God's

will and work. For this truth, bluntly told, S. Stephen could lay down his life, praying, "LORD, lay not this sin to their charge." A learned Jew, when convinced of the fact, could leave his home and friends, and dare, though small of stature and mean of speech, to tell the cultured Athenians, in their Areopagus, that they were mistaken even in their devout piety; or the same enthusiast, when a prisoner in one of the hovels of the Prænestian Quarter of Rome, thought it not beneath him to receive into his house those begging and fortune-telling fellow-countrymen who traded in old clothes and furniture, to give them the news of what had transpired at home. He was buoyed up by the fact that he had back of him a society of men, described by himself as a GOD-provided Ark of Safety, which comprehended "(1) Unity of Organisation—One Body; (2) Unity of Love and Power—One Spirit; (3) Unity of Headship—One Lord; (4) Unity of Belief—One Faith; (5) Unity of Sacraments—One Baptism; (6) Unity of Life and Sustenance—One GOD and Father of all; (7) Unity of Fruition—One Hope."

It would not be difficult to go through the New Testament, and, classifying its utterances, arrange them around these seven marks of the Divine Life of the Church, distinguishing the one life from the manifold forms of error, which even then were taking bodily shape; as in the same Scriptures the Divine life of JESUS of Nazareth can be distinguished from all other men.

Thus in Bible days there was no difficulty about Missions. The Missionary Society was the Church itself, animated by the indwelling Spirit. It was a Body, growing—men might be put to death, but the Body could not perish. It was an Army, marching—soldiers might fall, but it could not be defeated. Imperishable life, co-ordinate functions, reasonable discipline, unswerving obedience, and a daily routine of faith in the Divine Presence and Promise, which no peril of life or fear of death could interrupt. The missionaries were chained, but they preached and wrote letters in their

chains—"the word of God was not bound." They were beaten and inhibited—they returned thanks for the worthiness of suffering, and kept on preaching. They were imprisoned, and they sang hymns in their cells.

Unquestioning obedience marked the decisions of the Church, and were the signs of its progress. A dissatisfaction exists—Choose ye out seven men whom *we* may appoint over this business. Disputes arise—they go up to Jerusalem to settle the difference. Should any man decline to hear the Church, "note that man, and have no company with him." The honor and mission of the Church rises superior to family, private, or social interests. The questions, "Where is the money coming from?" "I have other business to attend to," "I think differently," never seem to have entered for a moment, when the voice of the Church once said, "It seems good to the HOLY GHOST and to us."

But while Scripture and history are clear upon the visible entity and Divine authority and mission of the Church, they contain no intimation of authority to relegate that mission to other and irresponsible parties. On the contrary, we discover by the Revelation of S. John, that the LORD Himself holds the Church accountable for shirking her work; and, with threats and warnings of utter extinction of power in certain localities unless she repent, clearly rebukes her for dereliction of duty and for sins of heart and life.

The fact that the Head of the Church Himself, years after His Ascension and session at the right hand of the FATHER, still claims and exercises judicial and executive power in His Church on earth clearly defines the *kind* of authority and power transmitted to the Church. It is neither judicial nor executive, but simply ministerial. The Apostolic Commission reads: "All authority in Heaven and *in earth* is given unto *Me*," not unto you. "*Go ye, therefore.*" By virtue of almighty power vested in Himself, He sends the Church to perform certain functions in His Name. The legal maxim, "*facit per alium, facit per se*," is found to operate to its fullest

extent in the performance of those functions, as witnessed in the mighty works which they did. But that maxim does not apply to a ministerial officer either in law or the Scriptures. No officer of a court can delegate his ministerial functions to another. He must perform them in person. No minister of the Gospel can delegate a layman to preach, baptise, or perform any other strictly ministerial function. He must do it himself. The terms of the Apostolic Commission, and the practice of the early Church, clearly show that the function of the whole Church was simply ministerial. While the Church is spoken of as a Kingdom, it is such only in connection with the King, and no instance can be found of the relegation of His judicial or executive power to the Church apart from Himself. While this is the theory of the Church in her standards, and its practice in so far as distinctly ministerial acts are concerned, it is not her practice in the actual employment *herself* of her own servants in the fulfilment of her first and essential duty. She delegates that to other parties. She calls, tries, instructs, examines, ordains, and commissions her officers, and then, by some strange fatuity, stopping at the threshold of the door leading out to the surging world, darkened by sin and laden with sorrow, whither she should go, she *hires out her servant* to irresponsible corporations or boards, who have no Divine origin or promise, and over whom she has but the faintest semblance of control.

It is not my purpose to rail at the parochial system, nor to belittle in any way the great missionary advances made in the last half century, the results of the noble self-sacrifices of the Clergy and Laity. In my judgment, the hope of the Church in this country, under GOD, lies in the parish—that is, in the faithful performance of the pastoral function from family to family. Indeed, the mission of the Church, so far as the Domestic field is concerned, is not the multiplication of agencies, nor the acquisition of new ground, but simply the culture of the ground already covered by Episcopal jurisdiction.

But it cannot be denied, nay, it is universally con-

fessed, that there is everywhere throughout the Church unrest, irritation, and worldliness; ignorance, irreverence, and strife; an enormous waste of strength and resources, with littleness and futility of results in comparison with our wealth, ability, and opportunities, which are simply appalling when contrasted with the LORD JESUS' evident intent in the creation and mission of the Church. It is not the purpose of this article to deal with these things symptomatically, nor to judge of the fidelity or infidelity of the Church by present and apparent results, but to test whether she is fulfilling her mission according to the letter of her orders and the spirit of her organic life. While it is true that there are scores of individuals in the Church whose annual incomes are larger than the entire missionary annual income of the Church, and hundreds of her Clergy living in isolation, distress, and poverty, yet these things in themselves reflect no more upon the Church's purity and honor than did similar things reflect upon her Master in His life in the flesh. Her integrity is to be tested, like His, by fidelity to the One that sends. If she can say, as He did, "I must do the will of Him that sent Me," "I do always those things that please Him," it matters little what the present or apparent results may be. But it is not true, and no one could reasonably claim, that the impotence of the Church is due to the persecutions of the generation in which she lives, because of her unswerving fidelity to every, the slightest, wish of her LORD, and her entire uncomplaining confidence in His provision for her sustenance.

Indeed, on the contrary, looking at these things for a moment symptomatically, every local dissension, every dispute over forms and ceremonies, or effort to bring any particular Christian community nearer to their LORD in faith and practice, reveals underneath so much individual corruption, and so little real love for the LORD and the honor of His Church, that it is thought better in most cases to bear the evils that exist by letting them alone, lest efforts to heal should create greater ones. It is absence of *grace* that is the real cause of impotence

in power, or barrenness of spiritual fruit, and if grace is absent the Spirit is absent, and if the Spirit be absent it is because the LORD has withdrawn it, and if He has withdrawn it it is because of the Church's infidelity to Him. While the promise of indestructible life is unconditional—"the gates of hell shall not prevail against it"—yet the permanence and power of the Spirit is conditional upon obedience to the law of the Church's being. The first duty of the Apostolic Commission is to "Go;" to go herself by the authority vested in Himself; to go in the power of the Spirit given through His obedience and intercession; to go by means of the resources which He will supply, until to the last man on the face of the globe is published the wondrous news of the redemption of mankind from sin and death by the Incarnation of the SON of GOD. The fulfilment of that duty was the Church's first love, and she became the light to that generation. Science now teaches that "light is but a form of motion." All the substances which compose light may be present, but without *motion* there is no light. The Creator of light is the Creator of the Church, and natural law operates in the spiritual world.

The Church may be present in the integrity of her being—in Ministry, Sacraments, Orders; living, speaking, acting—animated by the sacred remembrances of her Divine origin and lineage, and thrilled with joy in the contemplation of her coming "Marriage to the Lamb," yet give no light because unmindful of her first and essential duty to go to others with the tidings and the blessings she was commissioned to bear. "If that light in thee be darkness, how great is the darkness!" It will be noted that the message to the first of the seven Churches (Ephesus) gave her credit for her works and labor—for patience, for purity, for exposure of false apostles, for resignation and endurance—but warned her that she had left her "*first love*," for which, unless she repent, her *candle-stick* would be removed.

Dark ages are not necessarily those marked by absence of temporal and spiritual resources in the Church, but those marked by the failure to use those

resources as fast as they are given for publishing the Gospel.

It is as idle for the Church, as it was for King Saul when overtaken by the prophet Samuel, to offer vain excuses—to point to her *success*, to her sacrifices, to her popularity, or to throw responsibility upon “the people”—when cornered as to exact fulfilment of her instructions. “To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.” It is perhaps the most frequent apology made, when any return to strict compliance with the LORD’s word is suggested—“the *people* are not ready for it.” Do the *people* send the Church? Do they instruct her? Is she responsible to them? In the first great trial of King Saul he should have waited for the Prophet, according to his orders, in spite of the impatience and scattering of the people; and in the second and last opportunity given him he should have held to his instructions, and slain Agag and the sheep and oxen, in spite of the wishes of the people. His disobedience—a slight one it would seem to us—cost him his kingdom and his life. “The Spirit of the LORD departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the LORD troubled him.” Is not the Church’s position a similar one? She is not primarily responsible for *results*, but for *obedience*, and *exact* obedience to His words, fearing only to displease her LORD, hoping only for His approving smile, and unmoved by immediate results, whether they come in stones of rage or multitudes of conversions, so long as she is sure of honest and unswerving obedience to His will. That certainly was His lot and course with respect to the Father, and it should be her lot and course in respect to Him. He was “led by the Spirit;” it may be to be tempted to do what He had the power to do, but not the command, or to refrain from suffering for which He had the command, but would not exert His power to escape. Both in the wilderness and in Gethsemane, and in all that lay between, the written Word was His guide and rule of action.

To recur now to the assertion that the Church does not fulfil her missionary ministerial function, but hires

out her servants to comparatively irresponsible boards or corporations. No argument or explanation is needed in support of this assertion. Practically the Church is a myth. Try to put your hand upon it in any given case, and you cannot. It is not the Bishop alone, it is not the Presbyter, it is certainly not the Parish. No one of us would be willing to acknowledge that it was the Diocesan or General Convention, with its irresponsible, untaught element; much less is it a "Standing Committee." Is it the House of Bishops? Where is their Treasury? Who controls it, and who is paid from it? What are its sources of income? Where are their Deacons? No other question can be asked about Deacons. Where are their conciliar decrees, or their acts of discipline? Where is the disciple or "steward of the mysteries" who could go to that Body for help or redress, or who looks to it with any expectation of receiving official sanction and support?

It is idle to talk about the restoration of the *Diaconate* until there is a body who wants them. At present there is no demand. These hiring bodies and corporations want priests. Deacons' work can be done by laymen and women without cost, and money saved—saved for what? How can the question of *Discipline* be dealt with until the Body sanctioned by CHRIST Himself does its own work, holding its servants responsible according to her own standards, and sustaining them, also, against unfaithful or wicked men, who in their methods of sustaining the Church treat it as any ordinary secular enterprise?

Or how can primitive *faith* in the promise to supply whatever is needed be restored to the *people* of the Church, until the Church herself has confidence enough in her LORD to literally and personally obey His word?

If there be any visible, living, earthly Body called the CHURCH, having jurisdiction by Divine authority in these United States of America (and who can deny it in the face of Scripture promise and history), that Church has it in her power to solve all difficulties and break every shackle of erroneous custom the instant she repents and

returns to her first love. If it be true that the Church now has practically only two orders of ministers; has no godly discipline of the laity; has no treasury; has on practical faith in the LORD'S promise to give bread for her sustenance and the Spirit for her work; has no power to open her sanctuaries for daily worship, and to feed her children weekly with the bread of life; has no means of sustaining her servants officially in the performance of their duty; has no effective means of carrying out her confessions of duty; and, above all, has no direct and primary official mission to anybody—is there not a call to repentance? That these are true cannot be denied—nay, they are universally confessed.

In the face of these facts, the extension of the Church is but the extension of a body under the burden and curse of sin, which must receive in due time the chastening, but loving, rod of CHRIST. Her first "Mission" is to the Mercy Seat, "with fasting, and weeping, and mourning." She may not be too proud to apply these words to herself, "Cast out first the beam that is in thine own eye," or "Make *me* a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me, *then* shall I teach Thy ways unto the wicked, and sinners shall be converted unto Thee."

This voice of repentance and contrition, preparatory to future faithful obedience, must proceed from the "upper room," from the successors of "the Twelve" in Official Council assembled. No one can do it, except by personal obedience and intercessory prayer to "move the Arm that moves the world." When the Church, as so understood, speaks in repentance and reformation, and sends the word down the line from Diocese to Diocese, with the authoritative, "It seems good to the HOLY GHOST and to us," and calls faithful Priests from farms, or schools, or literary retirement, where poverty or persecution have driven them; then will be seen, over again, the light which burst forth at Pentecost, and was rekindled at Smithfield, shining with increased and increasing splendor, borne and flashed and speeded from pole to pole and ocean to

ocean, by wire and rail, by steam and electricity, God's instruments prepared beforehand for closing suddenly the "consummation of the age," till

. . . every kindred, every tribe,
On this terrestrial ball,
To Him all majesty ascribe,
And crown Him LORD of all.

And "*then* shall the end come," according to His Word.

May the LORD speed the day when the Church shall touch the electric key of repentance and contrition which joins earth and heaven, to bring about this blessed consummation of hope.

THOMAS W. HASKINS.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF VIRGINIA.

ALMOST the first step toward the resuscitation of the Church in Virginia was in the direction of providing for theological education. That it was a wise step has been proved by the important part which its Theological Seminary has borne in that revival. It was in 1814 that, at a Convention comprising only seven clergymen, the Rev. Dr. Moore was elected to the Episcopate of Virginia, which had been two years vacant. As he was leaving New York for Virginia, we are told by Bishop Meade, it was suggested to him by Dr. John Augustine Smith, who was about to take charge of William and Mary College, to place a theological professor at that institution. A valuable theological library, formed by Commissaries Blair and Bray, was there; but the Chair of Theology had long been vacant. Accordingly, at the Convention of 1815, Bishop Moore submitted a formal proposition to this effect from Dr. Smith, and the Convention adopted a resolution, proposed by the Rev. William Meade, as chairman of the committee to whom the subject was referred, "that the Bishop and Standing Committee be . . . authorised to adopt measures for the promotion of an object . . . which may, under the blessing of God, be productive of the most beneficial consequences." The project, though alluded to in one or two of the Convention journals for the following years, seems to have languished from the difficulty of providing funds for the support of the Chair. In 1821, however, the Convention adopted a report and resolution of the committee on the State of the Church, presented by the Rev. William H. Wilmer, recommending that a theological school be established in Williamsburg, that a board

of trustees be appointed, with power to select one or more professors, and raise funds for the object, and to correspond with the Standing Committees of Maryland and North Carolina, "in order to ascertain whether the members of our Church in those States are disposed to co-operate with us in this important measure." The Convention also formally declared that in taking this step it did not intend any opposition to the General Seminary established by the General Convention, but deemed that there were "peculiar circumstances which render it necessary to cherish a seminary in the southern district." In 1822 the Trustees of the school appointed the previous year reported that no reply to their overtures had been received from North Carolina, and that there was difference of opinion in Maryland as to the usefulness of the school and its location at Williamsburg; also, that more than \$10,000 had been raised for the object. A year or two before this, the Rev. Reuel Keith had been elected rector of Bruton parish, Williamsburg, and Professor of History and Humanities in William and Mary, and, it was understood, would instruct in Divinity any students who might apply; and the Trustees of the Seminary, probably in the autumn of 1822, also elected him as a professor on their foundation. Only one theological student is known to have attended on Dr. Keith's instructions during the two years he was at Williamsburg, and the Trustees came to the conclusion that the situation was unsuitable.

There were probably two determining causes which fixed Alexandria as the place to which the institution was removed. The first was that the District of Columbia, which at that time included Alexandria, was the head-quarters of the "Society for Educating Pious Young Men for the Ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church." This society had its origin at a meeting of Clergy and laity at the laying of the corner-stone of a church in Georgetown in 1818, and at this time embraced nearly all the Clergy and active laity in the District and the adjacent portions of Virginia and Maryland. It thus formed a centre of influence on the subject of theological educa-

tion, and naturally attracted the new theological school to its neighborhood. Besides, it gave substantial aid, by a vote of several hundred dollars, toward the payment of Professor Keith's salary, and by the promise of future support. "The pledge thus given by the Society," says Dr. Hawks [*Ecc. Contrib.*, i., p. 265] "had the happy effect of bringing the two institutions thus united conspicuously before the members of the Church, and hence they afforded to each other mutual aid." The second cause was the failure, through the opposition of Bishop Kemp, of a scheme to establish a theological seminary in Maryland, which the Convention of that Diocese had adopted in 1822. Upon its coming to nought, the influence and resources which it had gathered were, to a large extent, transferred to the Virginia school, and to these Maryland friends Alexandria was the most convenient place. It is said that the conclusion to establish the seminary in Alexandria was reached at a conference at the house of Dr. Thomas Henderson, in Georgetown, at which were present, besides the host, the Rev. William Meade, the Rev. William Hawley, the Rev. William H. Wilmer, and Francis S. Key.

As the result of all these preliminary efforts, the Theological Seminary of Virginia was opened on the 15th of October, 1823, in the lecture-room of S. Paul's Church, Alexandria, with the Rev. Reuel Keith as Professor. Some 14 students were enrolled during the first session, and the Rev. Dr. W. H. Wilmer, the rector of S. Paul's, aided Professor Keith by taking charge of the department of Systematic Theology. During the following year 21 students were in attendance, and the Rev. Oliver Morris, the rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, was added to the faculty as Professor of Pastoral Theology. He, however, died in 1825, and the Rev. Dr. Wilmer, removed to Williamsburg, in 1826. The Rev. Edward R. Lippitt was elected a regular professor in 1825, and from that time until 1836, when Professor Packard was elected, shared with Dr. Keith the entire work of instruction.

The Trustees, through Rev. William Meade, reported

to the Convention of 1827, that "from the first opening of the school very serious inconveniences were found to attend the residence of the students and professors in a town," . . . that "the want of a building exclusively devoted to their use, and where they may live in the most retired manner and in the simplest way, has been deeply felt," and that it had therefore been determined to provide accommodations for the Seminary in the country near Alexandria. In the following year Dr. Meade reported that under the permission given them, the Trustees had, in June, 1827, purchased a farm of 62 acres, with a brick dwelling-house upon it, near which they had erected, at a cost of about \$3,000, a brick building for the use of the students. This new and permanent site for the Seminary, which, says Bishop Meade, in the report just quoted, "on account of the healthiness of its atmosphere, the beauty of its prospect, and its many conveniences has given universal satisfaction," is in the county of Fairfax, on a hill 250 feet above the Potomac, two and a half miles west of Alexandria, and seven miles southwest from Washington. During the next few years other plain buildings were erected, which were sufficient for all practical purposes for nearly 30 years.

Within a few hundred yards of the Seminary, on an adjoining tract of 100 acres, is the Diocesan High School, which was founded in 1839, by the Trustees of the Seminary, as a Church school of high standard, and in the hope, which has had ample fulfilment, that some of its pupils would be led to turn their attention to the sacred ministry. It numbers a principal and four assistant teachers, and about 100 pupils.

All this property was for many years held by a number of trustees, elected from time to time by the Convention. Owing to the prejudice in the State of Virginia against religious corporations, no act of incorporation could be obtained until 1854, when the Seminary was incorporated under the title of "The Trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary and High School in Virginia," with power to the Trustees to fill vacancies in the board. At present the board consists of the

Bishops of Virginia and West Virginia, together with 7 Clergymen and 6 laymen resident within those States. Under the assurance of security of title, which the incorporation gave, the endowment fund of the institution was much increased, and friends in different parts of the country replaced from time to time the cheap and plain buildings of the early days of the seminary with others more costly and convenient.

Distinct from the High School, and also from the Seminary, although it is housed in the same cluster of buildings with the latter, is the preparatory department, formally organised in 1858, the object of which is to supply to postulants for the ministry, who are unable to resort to college, such training in academic branches of learning as is required of candidates for Orders. Instruction is given by two teachers, under the supervision and with the assistance of the professors.

The exercises of all these institutions were suspended during the years of the Civil War [1861-65] and the buildings were used as hospitals for the United States forces. In the matriculation book of the Seminary is the following entry by Rev. Dr. Sparrow in regard to the Seminary during this period.

In the month of May, 1861, the officers and students of this theological seminary were interrupted in their duties by national calamities which then fell upon us. The students dispersed to their homes, North and South; the Rev. Dr. May went to his relatives in Philadelphia, the Rev. Dr. Packard to his, in Fauquier County, Va., and the Rev. Dr. Sparrow to Staunton, Augusta County, Va. In Staunton, which, with the sanction of the Trustees, was made the temporary location of the Seminary, some students reassembled for instruction, and for five months Dr. Packard and Dr. Sparrow taught them in conjunction. This was during the months of December to April, 1861-62. After that, the former having returned to his family in Fauquier, the latter retired, to avoid the dangers and excitements of war, to Halifax County, and there taught five months. After that he returned to Staunton again, and there remained, with the students whom the conscription had left him, to the end of the war.

In the autumn, after the close of the war, the Seminary was reopened by Drs. Sparrow and Packard. Its buildings and grounds, used by the Government with-

out compensation, were much injured, and a considerable portion of its funds were swept away in the wreck of most Southern investments. The people of Virginia were able to do little to repair its losses; but kind friends in portions of the country less distressed by war came to its relief, and in a few years it was substantially on its old footing. Its library, which was for the most part made up of gifts of books or of small personal libraries of Clergymen and members of the Church, has of late years much increased, and now numbers about 12,000 volumes. Its steady increase is assured by means of the income of the Robertson fund, founded by an alumnus for the purpose. The present buildings are as follows:

1. The Library, erected in 1855, from a legacy of Mrs. Sophia Jones, of Virginia, and a gift of John Bohlen, of Philadelphia.
2. S. George's Hall, containing students' rooms, erected in 1856, by a lady of S. George's Church, New York.
3. Aspinwall Hall, erected in 1858-59, by William H. and John L. Aspinwall, of New York. It contains the prayer-hall, lecture-rooms, and students' rooms.
4. Bohlen Hall, erected in 1859-60, by John Bohlen, of Philadelphia. It contains the refectory and students' rooms.
5. Meade Hall, containing students' rooms, erected in 1860 by the alumni, as a memorial to Bishop Meade.
6. The Chapel, a convenient and beautiful building, erected in 1880, on the site of a former chapel, by alumni and friends in all parts of the country.
7. Wyman Hall, a commodious and completely equipped gymnasium, erected in 1883, by the contributions of many friends, largely of Samuel G. Wyman, of Baltimore.
8. A chapel, erected in 1883, for the colored people of the neighborhood, by the contributions of alumni and others. In addition to these are four Professors' houses in different parts of the seminary tract.

Some of the Professors of the Seminary have been already mentioned. The following is a complete list of them:

Reuel Keith, D.D., 1823-41; William H. Wilmer, D.D., 1823-26; Oliver Norris, 1824-25; Edward R.

Lippitt, 1825-42; William Jackson, 1827; Charles Mann, 1833; Joseph Packard, D.D., 1836-; William Sparrow, D.D., 1841-74; James May, D.D., 1842-61; John Johns, D.D., 1854-76; Cornelius Walker, D.D., 1866-; J. J. McElhinney, D.D., 1872-; Kinloch Nelson, D.D., 1876-. For many years, up to 1853, when Bishop Johns came to reside near the Seminary, Bishop Meade delivered a course of lectures on Pastoral Theology to the students every spring.

Of some of the deceased professors some further brief mention is possible. Dr. Keith was a man of exact and extensive learning, particularly in the department of exegesis, and of unusual power and earnestness as a preacher. He was the translator of Heugstenberg's *Christology of the New Testament* [Alexandria, 1836]. Dr. Sparrow had a wide influence upon the religious thought of his day through the numerous pupils who felt the inspiration of his teaching. He had a robust and powerful intellect, trained to acute logical analysis, a sturdy independence of judgment, a character conspicuous for earnestness, sincerity, and truth, and for the most fervent piety. A number of occasional sermons and addresses were published during his life; also, a posthumous volume of *Sermons*, New York, 1876 [see his *Life and Correspondence* by C. Walker, D.D., New York, 1876; also article in Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, by Rev. R. H. McKim, D.D.]. Dr. May was a man greatly beloved and honored both as a teacher and as a man [see his *Life and Letters*, by Rev. A. Shiras].

The present faculty, with the topics of instruction assigned to each, are as follows: Dean—Rev. Joseph Packard, D.D., Biblical Learning; Rev. Cornelius Walker, D.D., Systematic Divinity and Homiletics; Rev. J. J. McElhinney, D.D., Apologetics and Church Polity; Rev. Kinloch Nelson, D.D., Ecclesiastical History, Pastoral Theology, and Canon Law.

This Seminary has been, throughout its whole history, the exponent of Virginia Churchmanship, that is to say, of the moderate Low-church school. Bishop Johns, in

his address at the dedication exercises, in 1859, summed up the character of its teaching as follows :

1. Care has been taken that in this school the doctrines of the Protestant Reformation, which are the doctrines of the Scriptures, and of which justification by faith is the keynote, should be taught with distinctness and decision.

2. The ecclesiastical polity inculcated and maintained here has been that set forth in the preface to the Ordination Service—so much, no more, no less ; conservative, but not exaggerated or exclusive. In a line, the Three Orders have existed from the Apostles' times, and no other ministry to be recognised "in this Church."

3. The cultivation of personal piety.

The graduates of the Seminary at this date (1884) number 572, besides whom 186 have taken a partial course of study within its walls, making in all 758, of whom 514 are now living. They are scattered throughout the United States and the missionary stations of the Church. Thirty-nine have been foreign missionaries, in Greece, in Africa, in China, and Japan.

Of the Bishops of the Church in this country, the following received their theological training either wholly or in part at this seminary: Bishops Polk, Boone, Payne, Kip, Bedell, Say, R. H. Wilmer, C. M. Williams, J. P. B. Wilmer, Young, Whittle, Wingfield, Dudley, Perry, Penick, Peterkin, H. C. Potter, Randolph, Boone (the younger).

The number of students at present, including those in the Preparatory Department, is 38. The largest number ever at the seminary was 73 in the year 1860-61.

JOSEPH PACKARD, JR.

AN OUTLINE OF PAULINE PSYCHOLOGY.

ALTHOUGH it was by no means the aim of S. Paul to furnish us with a treatise on Mental Science, yet it may be plainly seen from his writings that he had a definite system and terminology for the various parts and phenomena of man's spiritual nature. A careful examination of the Epistles of S. Paul will abundantly prove this, and it is my purpose to set forth, plainly and without technicalities, some results of such an examination.

S. Paul's general division of the nature of Man is into three parts—Spirit, Soul, and Body (πνεῦμα, ψυχὴ, σῶμα) [1 *Thessalonians* v. 23].

We may, however, dismiss the last article of the division, as signifying the mere shell or tabernacle in which, the other linked portions of the nature sojourn. Nor is it necessary to discuss how far these two latter are parts of a whole, or merely modes and modifications of the same unity, as the convex and concave in a curve, which, according as the curve is widened or contracted, lose and gain in their several characteristics; or, in fact, exchange the convexity for the concavity, and *vice versâ*, if by another bend the curve is reversed.* We must deal with them here as individual, at least as distinct, powers, as the Apostle appears to deal with them.

And first, as to the soul (ψυχὴ). This seems to correspond with what modern writers style the parts of Intellect and Sensibility. In the ψυχὴ are included, first, all the passions of man down to the lowest of them; these lowest animal passions being comprised by the Apostle under the term σὰρξ, the flesh, deriving its

* Aristotle: *Eth. Nic.* i. 13.

soul
 motives from brute instincts, and corresponding with Aristotle's τὸ ἄλογον τῆς ψυχῆς. The foundations of this division of the ψυχὴ strike down into the merely physical functions of human nature, and the obscure border-land which divides the being of man, as conscious and rational, not only from that of a brute, but even of a vegetable.* The highest functions of this first division of the ψυχὴ are those of the heart, καρδιά. The affections of the heart under ordinary conditions move within the orbit of moral law [*Romans* ii. 14]. It is the heart that prompts the confession of a faith in things which are the objects of its passion of hope [*Romans* x. 9, 10]. But here also appears the long list of lower impulses: ὀργή, and its perversion θυμός; ὀρεξεις, and its darker counterpart ἐπιθυμία, with the remaining train of depraved impulses, which, when they infect the intellectual part of the soul, result in φρόνημα σαρκός; when they issue in overt act (ἔργον), realise the hideous catalogue given in *Galatians* v.

soul
Spirit
understanding
 The second and Intellectual part of the ψυχὴ reaches its highest point in νοῦς, which, according to Aristotle, who knew no πνεῦμα in man, is the sovereign function of human nature.† This νοῦς is the faculty by which we know and understand [*1 Corinthians* xiv. 14]. S. Paul has spoken of it in its highest manifestation, σοφία, wisdom; in its active exercise, διάνοια; in its arguments and reasonings before the tribunal of conscience, λογισμός; in its formulation of a settled, sound opinion, γνώμη. He has spoken of the influence of the lower parts of the emotional ψυχὴ as blinding and hardening its powers [*2 Corinthians* iii. 14; *Ephesians* iv. 17, 18]. He has even gone a step farther, and spoken of its utter perversion; then it becomes debased, and, like spurious coin, deceives those who are relying on it, failing to give the guidance and help which lies within its essence to afford. [This is the ἀδόκιμος νοῦς.]

On the other hand, when the balance is duly kept between νοῦς and καρδιά, we have as the result the human

* Aristotle: *Eth. Nic.* i. 13, 11.

Ibid. vi. 2, 1.

perfection of σωψροσίνη, the highest type of character known to heathen moralists : where has been developed a complete ἐγκράτεια and control over the lower promptings and appetites of the σάρξ, and a perfect clear-sightedness in "the eye of the soul," the νοῦς.* The human ψυχὴ then so far becomes an unruffled and unclouded mirror that it can receive impressions and images of things higher than and distinct from itself ; nay, like that deep over which the Divine Power hovered or brooded, it can also lend itself to the plastic touch which may out of formless void produce beauty and harmony in accordance with an eternal archetype.

For νοῦς, apart from its intellectual faculties, as the knowing and discerning part of man in mental perception, has also a moral insight, and can judge, under proper conditions, of the conformity of human conduct with a moral standard ideal and Divine. Not only can man by mental apprehension clearly know and see the power and Divine nature of God from the works of creation [*Romans* i. 20], but can also take some measure of his moral proportions. This faculty provides man by nature with a basis of morals, and a test of right and wrong. The action of νοῦς, in standing as judge over the whole range of desires and emotions and reasonings in the soul, is styled by S. Paul συνείδησις, consciousness [*2 Corinthians* v. 11 ; cf. *1 Peter* ii. 19] ; or, in its complete and technical meaning, conscience. Though this recognition of Divine standard of morality thus appears in νοῦς as an innate faculty, yet this συνείδησις may lose its power of correct discernment [*1 Corinthians* viii. 7, 12] ; in short, there is no point which the Apostle implies more clearly than the proneness to error and perversion of man's highest faculties. But over these, as if they were only subordinate faculties of perception and feeling, of which the highest from a moral stand-point is συνείδησις, he sets the spirit of man—τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Joined in complete union with the ψυχὴ through all its complexities this spirit certainly is. Not a throb, from the

* Aristotle : *Eth. Nic.* i. 6, 12.

lowest depth of the *σάρξ* up to the purest and most disinterested longing of the affections, *καρδία*, but reaches to the spirit of man, which, like some subtle tissue, vibrates to the emotions of the soul. Not a thought, a conception, a debate of reason, but transfers itself from the intellect to the spirit, with which it is closely interwoven. Yet though in complete union with *ψυχή*, the *πνεῦμα* is still distinct and independent. It is the immortal bridegroom wedded in darkness to the mortal spouse, as in the exquisite episode of Apuleius, whose face and full beauty she may never see, whose air she shall never breathe, whose celestial affinities are closed to her forever. For though crushed and ignored, sometimes consciously so, by other parts of the invisible man, this spirit is pre-eminently the distinguishing seal of our race as a range of creatures superior to all other organisms known to us. And though on the one side it is intimately united with the *ψυχή*, and especially in the moral development of the *νοῦς* into *συνειδήσις* [1 *Corinthians* ii. 11], as well as with its highest rational functions [*Ephesians* iv. 23 ; *Colossians* i. 9] ; on the other side it is actually the pole of contact with the Divine Being through the medium of His Spirit [*Romans* viii. 16].

The vague word used by the Apostle suggests a metaphorical interpretation of the function of *πνεῦμα*. As the breath, though necessary to life, is distinct from the grosser body, which serves as the machinery and vessel of life, so is the spirit of man necessary to the completeness of his nature, to the perfect development of his life, yet distinct from that life. The spirit pervades and invests the highest summits of his nature, like the atmosphere which spreads between earth and heaven, and is the theatre for the activity of all soft and lovely, all mysterious and terrific, influences and phenomena of the sky. The spirit of Man stands between God and man, upon whom, through this intervening faculty, descends every energy, every illuminating flash, which reaches him from the Father of his being.

Though the closest ties connect this spirit with each and every faculty of the soul, it yet stands in direct

antagonism with the animal part. The Apostle uses the strongest language to express this persistent hostility [*Galatians* v. 17, ἀντίκειται]. Yet, in spite of this instinctive opposition, which renders the spirit the instrument for crushing and killing the baser nature [*Romans* viii. 13], sometimes the spirit, on its human side, is degraded by the pollution of the flesh, and the two are classed for a while as marked with the same stain [*2 Corinthians* vii. 1].

But the most notable part of S. Paul's teaching with regard to the spirit of man is in its relation to the Spirit of GOD. The Spirit of GOD joins and confirms the witness of the spirit of man with regard to man's origin and destiny [*Romans* viii. 10]; but more than this. The plain teaching of the Apostle is that the Divine Spirit makes its local habitation in man's body, just as really as his own ψυχή resides there [*1 Corinthians* vi. 19]. First operating upon the πνεῦμα of man, it passes thence to the intellect, νοῦς [*Ephesians* iv. 23, 24], to the heart, καρδιά [*Eph.* xvi. 17, 18], down to the very lowest impulses of the animal being [*Galatians* v. 16]. The result is literally an organic change in the human nature of the individual [*Galatians* vi. 15; cf. *2 Corinthians* v. 17].

The whole motive of S. Paul's life, the system of ethics which he teaches, rests on this vital doctrine. The addition of the Divine element to man's spiritual being is the addition of a new set of faculties. The man is transformed [*Romans* xii. 2]. His intellect reaches a degree of illumination which transcends the supreme effort of unaided human mind [*1 Corinthians* ii. 14]. Only in accordance with S. Paul's teaching can it be true, as the great French preacher says: "*Omnipotentia supplex*—the prayerful has the power of God." For, when man approaches the mercy-seat, within himself he fears a supernatural suppliant, whose pleading cry, though it proceeds from a human bosom, could find no interpretation in human language, and is read as the wish of the suppliant from within the temple of whose body it proceeds by Him who searcheth the heart [*Romans* viii. 26, 27].

When the energies of the soul have thus become absorbed into the domain of the spirit, the man, no longer σαρκικός, or ψυχικός, is styled by S. Paul πνευματικός [*Romans* viii. 9; cf. *Jude* xix.].

It is with such premises as these that Paul lays upon man, as an actual obligation, the possession of faith, *i.e.*, belief in truths humanly speaking most incredible, and well-nigh incapable of verification by the intellect. Nor could he without such a clear understanding of the connection of man's spirit with God's Spirit have pitched so high his ideal of human benevolence [*1 Corinthians* xviii.]. To have raised belief from the sphere of the intellect to a moral plane, to have elevated love for others to the altitude of self-annihilation, only escapes absurdity in view of the Apostle's repeated statements as to the human metamorphosed into the superhuman, nay, into the Divine. It is with this understanding that we take as hardly an adequate statement of sober fact his own ecstatic avowal in *Galatians* ii. 20; and, in the light of this wonderful doctrine, his claim of moral omnipotence sounds neither exaggerated nor overstrained.

W. EPIPHANIUS WILSON.

ART IN WORSHIP.

THE place of Art in Worship is a subject frequently discussed, and no inconsiderable amount of criticism has grown out of its manifestations in Church architecture, ritual, music, and decoration. In general, however, it is noticeable that Art is looked at "askance and strangely," as something foreign to worship, and which, under all circumstances, should be applied with judicious circumspection.

So long as Art is thus viewed—as a thing apart, as something to be outwardly applied, or superadded in the form of embellishment, it must necessarily be false and meretricious, both in principle and in form. For Art, in the true sense, is simply a form of expression, and, in its finest phase, a manifestation of beauty. This beauty does not spring from an after-thought; it is generic and structural, its roots lying as deep as those of truth, of which it is but the perfect bodying-forth in form.

The seed that is cast into the ground brings forth flower and fruit, after its kind, in that order of perfection to which we apply the term *beautiful*. This quality of the flower is inherent in the seed, for wherever it is cast into the ground, the conditions of growth being present, it develops into like forms of beauty and perfection. So is it with character, and that. "beauty of holiness" rooted in character, which is not dependent upon external environment for its manifestation; for whether this be favorable or unfavorable, that which springs from character remains under all circumstances true to its own nature. And so likewise of any sentiment or principle of religion aspiring to outward expression;

whether it be deep-rooted, or merely superficial, its character is betrayed by its manifestation in forms of Art. The inmost principle is known by the outermost fruits, and the invisible things are clearly seen and understood by the things that are made. This is sound doctrine in Art no less than in religion, for all forms of expression are but different phases of the same general truth, viz., that exterior forms are a revelation of interior motives or principles; and it is very easy to determine whether Art has been laid hold of extraneously, as an after-thought, and outwardly applied, or, whether it is a natural, orderly unfolding of generic truths which necessarily clothe themselves in appropriate forms as they aspire to outward expression.

For most minds the true and the beautiful are so separated as to be regarded as quite independent of one another in their outward manifestations, as though a thing may be beautiful without being true, or true without being beautiful. Now this may indeed be the case with respect to external facts, to things lying on the surface of life, but it is not the case with deep-rooted principles of truth, especially those which give birth to beauty in Art; the religious impulse must be pure in order to manifest itself in forms of purity, and it must be sincere in order to a beautiful form of expression. For beauty, primarily, is the resultant of harmony or fitness. Michael Angelo, at the close of a long life devoted to the pursuit of Art, defined the beautiful as "the purgation of superfluities." This is not a common belief, which regards beauty as a form of embellishment, as a thing apart from truth, declaring its opinion by preferring, as the phrase goes, "the unadorned truth to any added grace that Art may lend." To reconcile such views of Art, or of beauty, is out of the question, the true and the false having nothing in common. If Art is expression, then perfect Art is manifested in forms that perfectly express the motive or thought. Prose is a form of Art best fitted to express an order of ideas constituting a plane of exact thought dealing with fact, in which the reason predominates; but when thought

pierces deeper, penetrating beneath the region of external fact, it discovers a more interior sense of truth having an emotional character not adapted to prosaic statement, and in giving expression to ideas thus more interiorly revealed a form of Art that is more suggestive than prose is in demand. One who is alive to this more interior apprehension of truth may not consciously exclaim, Go to, let us write a poem! but in giving expression to these deeper emotional ideas a rhythmic form instinctively follows as the natural outcome, or correspondence, of that which could find adequate expression in no other way. So in sacred Scripture, when the prophets rose to a state of great exaltation, when the thought was deepest and most fervent, their prose insensibly merged into rhythmic form, while flashes of a more intense light broke forth. These passages may be clearly distinguished as more interiorly true and more exteriorly beautiful than the language which precedes or follows them; their inspiration was derived from a deeper source, blending mind and feeling as one organ of emotional thought; for, contrary to current beliefs, the emotions lie deeper than thought, the most interior conception of the Godhead being that of Love.

This blending of thought and feeling in rhythmical expression is profoundly illustrated in the Psalms, and in the later Isaiah, and very strikingly in the Gospels, and in the Epistles of Paul—notably in that passage on charity, or love, in the thirteenth chapter of *1 Corinthians*. We cannot think that Paul was conscious of this rhythmic tendency at the time; he must have felt, however, that his perception of truth was more interior at that moment than when he was occupied with questions of Jewish law; that his mind was then dealing with substance rather than with forms, and the expression of a deeper emotional impulse determined the expression instinctively and imperatively. And the same may be said of those extraordinary images thrown out in Ezekiel and in the Apocalypse—great vague shadows of spiritual truths projected across the horizon of

the natural, too deep for rational utterance, altogether incapable of prosaic definition.

Now this is not very far away from the root of the matter concerning expression in Art in any form. The principles underlying all forms of expression are fundamentally the same; they are all reducible to some all-embracing law of manifestation which, like the law of gravitation, affects all bodies alike, be they great or small, simple or complex—and expression is simply giving *body* to ideas, manifesting in outward form some inward motive. If the beauty of this form be outwardly determined or applied, superadded to some simple form of expression as a mere embellishment, it must necessarily be false and obtrusive, as well as insincere and meretricious. If the mind, occupied with any form of Art whatever, is moving upon the surface of things, the thought having no generic connection with fundamental principles or interior convictions, it must surely manifest itself outwardly as a superficial or expressionless form of "beauty" that is without real merit, like that which results from prevalent methods of procedure in Church "decoration," the thing being contracted for as a merely mechanical operation.

If ideas of Art are derived from what is best in Art, determining the constituents of excellence from direct observation of that which is truly "fine" or beautiful in Art, it is clearly perceived that the highest order of beauty is more nearly related to economy of means than to lavish expenditure. A decadence in Art is always marked by the substitution of profuse and costly materials for inventive thought. If we turn to the Greeks for illustration, we find that their greatest epoch, the age of Pericles, was marked by simple yet perfect forms of Art, whether in sculpture or in architecture. The Parthenon is but an assemblage of a few rhythmically related *lines*, bounding solids, that may neither be added to, nor subtracted from, without marring the beauty of the whole. The economy of the Art is perfect; it is indeed a "purgation of superfluities" in the bodying forth of an aspiration in the form of a sacred temple expres-

sive of pagan beliefs. And the mediæval cathedral is the outcome of a like sincerity of aim: with all its richness it manifests a true economy of means. The task was a larger one, involving more varied and complex elements, of a part with the distinctive character of the ideas that lay at the root of the inspiration. For the worship of the one was centred in nature; that of the other in spirit; the aspiration of one was consummated in time, the other in eternity; one was content with a healthy, active, open-aired, natural existence; the other aspired to a world beyond. Greek Art is consummated in a realised ideal; while Mediæval Art aimed to suggest something beyond the form that hovered unseen, as it were, above the forms, and was discerned through them by an inward spiritual sense. On entering those beautiful structures of the XIII. and XIV. centuries the sensibility must be dull indeed if it experience no sensation that tends to expand and uplift the mind. The vast spaces, the great height, the groups of slender shafts springing so lightly into the dimly lit vaults above, overcome that sense of mass, or weight, which anchored the Greek temple to the earth. There is likewise an atmosphere peculiar to the place; a solemn air of repose seems to hush the turbulence of external thoughts; vast, solemn twilight shades are traversed by glimmering rays, or high aloft, through the great rose-windows of the transept, the irruptive and dazzling light streams in with all the splendor of setting suns. However cheerless without, the sun always seems to pour in through these roseate openings. The vast structure itself, the sculptured traceries and saintly forms, the harmonies of color, the glancing light or depths of shade, the pictured altar-piece, the solemn chant, the sound of the deep-toned organ reverberating through the nave—these all conspire in one grand symphony of Art, as in some vast volume of orchestral harmony are mingled the qualities of many instruments. The senses are as the strings of a lyre touched by the finger of a master-musician.

The mediæval cathedral is a thing perfect in itself, in

every way worthy and acceptable as a means of churchly worship, as distinguished from the more interior worship of the individual; for it is only when men meet together in external relations that they must agree upon a form, and that which addresses the greatest variety of mind without a perversion of truth is most effective in fulfilling the ends of form. Uniting with this a religious consecration of the first-fruits of all that is pure, lovely, and of good report, these structures became the beautiful attestation of an aspiring religious hope. But when this interior and consecrating motive was reversed, when the outward form was substituted for inward substance, the life departed from these beautiful creations of Mediæval Art; their beauty in part remains, but it is no longer the same; they resemble a flower that has withered on its stem, retaining its color and form, but no longer having the bloom and perfume of life. It was originally prompted by a true impulse. A religious aspiration should naturally follow in the footsteps of the Divine, by clothing its thought with beauty, for "He hath made everything beautiful in His time," and it is the end and consummation of the Christian's hope even to "Behold Him in His Beauty." Beauty being but the perfect outward manifestation of the true and the good—a harmony, an expression—we do not improve matters much by putting out our eyes. The iconoclast thought we did, however, and with his heavy hand he fractured these mediæval visions as with a hammer's blow. The penalties of guilt seem always to fall upon the innocent; that which had once blossomed forth from a sincere and pure aspiration, bore the consequences of a later perversion of heart. The zeal of reform does not stand upon nice distinctions, and all these outward manifestations of a fervent faith—the true with the false, the pure with the meretricious—were regarded as but one general representative of a perverted ecclesiasticism which the human heart repudiated and rightly rebelled against.

A reforming impulse, having to stem and turn a current, manifests a zeal which, when the current is once fairly turned, becomes in time an evil, swinging, as a vast

pendulum, to excess in the opposite direction. The instruments of reform, therefore, find their proper place not at the head of institutions, where a judicious conservatism should reign, but lower down in the general body, where zeal and heat may work a change that will not be permitted to run into excess. Reforms, therefore, and all new impulses which purify faith, naturally spring from the laity, who represent the heart, the life, and not the institution whose office it is to maintain and transmit the acquisitions that spring from this life. With rare exception the prophets and apostles of reform, in all ages, attest this truth. When a righteous zeal has effected a change of sentiment, or reformed an evil, this same zeal, when clothed with official authority, runs naturally into excess in an opposite direction, from the effect of its own tidal strength. We find zealous ecclesiastics breaking the beautiful glass of the cathedrals with hammers; the impetuous Knox crying from the pulpit, pointing to the organ-loft, "Take out that chest of whistles!" The temple was bereft of all that is beautiful, without discrimination. That which originally was an aid to worship, from its having become a substitute through a perversion of heart—of which it was not the true cause—was utterly repudiated, cast out, and trodden under foot. The battle fairly over, the victory won, a more sober judgment sees plainly that there has been wanton destruction of innocent things, and with slow and gradual steps the despised glories are again recovered and incorporated with the new life: and this is what all Protestant religious bodies are busy about just now, when the truth of Luther's words are fully recognised—that we cannot afford to yield up all the good things to the evil one! For no beautiful or expressive aid to worship is in itself evil, but a perversion of truth may darken even that which is heavenly.

There is an ebb and flow to all activities of thought, an action and reaction, which, unless the eye takes in all extremes, tends on the one side or the other to fanaticism. By identifying excess with any one tendency of thought the judgment is rendered incapable of pronouncing upon

its merit. In order to get at the spirit of a purer faith than that which ran into excesses at a later time, occasioning a necessary reform of religious sentiment, we must study the XIII. century types of Christian Art. Then it is we discover a true impulse fervently expressing itself in outward forms, a devout aspiration which lay at the root of all subsequent beauty, until it was supplanted by a mere worldly ambition and lust for power. In that truly Christian Art of an earlier time we discover a purer motive, a yearning for the heavenly, a mystical hope, a fervor of belief that partially drew aside the veil, revealing somewhat of that glory and light which had fired the human heart in former ages. But all this was changed when the inspiration and the life went out of it. The mystical element disappeared, the heavens "curled up as a scroll," as it were, grew more and more distant, until, finally, their objectivity vanished altogether and was no more *seen* even by the inward eye. So this beautiful Art perished with the inspiration that gave it form. It was an *other-world* aspiration—beautiful, mystical, and true. In the reaction that followed, the heavens were resolved into a philosophical abstraction—into a sphere or state that was without bodily externality of any kind, spiritual or otherwise. Morality eventually supplanted the religious hope, and this now manifests itself in the form of secular institutions for the amelioration of the outward condition of the natural man—things eminently praiseworthy, that may well stir the modern heart with pride; but morality is not religion, neither is that religion which discards the mystical, nor can that be a great Art which is not born of a religious impulse, nor a Christian Art that is not rooted in things spiritual. The natural man and his work, however glorious the achievement, is a distinct thing from the spiritual man and his hope, for which a new *birth* is declared to be the requisite—a new mind, a new purpose, a new life. The secret of that old fervor of faith which fired the human heart in the Apostolic Age, and again in the Middle Ages; which conquered the might and majesty of the pagan world, and again flamed forth with magnifi-

cent creative energy in the XIV. and XV. centuries, was, above all, a consciousness of the fact that the Kingdom of Heaven is *at hand*, as a near *reality*, actually *seen* in visions, and not a mere formula of speculative belief. Its denizens, in the form of celestial visitors, were believed—indeed they were known—to hold commerce or communion with man, being actively engaged in the advancement of GOD's Kingdom on earth. Thus the dreary commonplace of toil, pain, want, was transfigured under the glow of a celestial light, the rays of which descended visibly from above.

In the spirit of this conviction, the zeal, the sincerity, the faith of the mediæval impulse conceived those vast and beautiful structures, and wrought out their last delicate traceries, even in obscure corners, with one and the same ardent impulse of reverence and affection, to the honor and glory of GOD. The Giotto's, and, later on, the Fra Angelico's of the time, transfixed their inspired visions in mural paintings, breathing the ardent aspiration of a pure and heavenly faith, affirmative of all that is noblest and best in life. But the modern mind, while confessing the beautiful Art which thus mysteriously blossomed forth from these "abnormal, overstrained, expectant moods of mind," regards it, for the most part, as a mere efflorescence of fancy, not at all rooted in fact. We now look for the physiological causes of these vivid conceptions, of that other-world phenomena which gave birth to so much that was inspiring and beautiful in those distant ages of fervent faith. Whatever be their true character, it is safe to say that he who knows least about them—who, indeed, is incapable of understanding them—is assuredly he who measures them by a faithless standard, whose belief is not affirmative, but doubting, and who denies the truth of that of which he has not the means of judging correctly. Faith being stricken through with doubt, its outward manifestation became but a perversion of the truth, and, eventually, after a righteous reaction against this, those former vivid realisations of the unseen were displaced by cold, colorless abstractions, a form of belief that has no in-

spiration for Art, as it has none whatever for life itself. The mediæval impulse, rooted as it was, originally, in the nearness of the heavens, became historic, a thing of the past, like that of the Apostolic Age. S. Paul expressed the character of the faith of that age when he said: "It is high time to awake out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed." A belief in the unseen is quite another thing from its vivid realisation, from a consciousness of its nearness, its reality, and its objectivity. An abstract faith vaporises and renders unsubstantial the conceptions that formerly energised the character and the life. We look back upon the Apostolic Age as upon a glory illuminating the distant horizon, but casting only a dim reflection over the present. This was not the case in the Middle Ages, when the light was also a direct effulgence from above. It was not the historic "Son of Man" alone, but the Risen LORD, the HOLY GHOST working in the present, which then occasioned a renewal of faith which flamed forth with somewhat of the old power and energy, but in a way adapted to the conditions of the time. A light that flickers forth from a distant past is quite another thing from a direct effulgence glorifying the present. No great Art ever sprang from a worship of the past, from a mere historic impulse; it has ever been the beautiful expression of a *living* faith, of an ardent, pulsating, breathing *present*, renewing the past in a living investiture of its own, and which looks eagerly forward and upward, and not backward. The Greeks found in the glory that shone about them the inspiration of their art; Nature was for them holy; her perfections were regarded as supremely sacred; they were revered and worshipped. The result of this was a cheerful, healthy, happy, open-aired sense of life and joy, to which the Art of Greece gave adequate expression. Compared with Mediæval Art, Greek Art was like a cloudless noonday when contrasted with the opulent splendors of the sunset, or the mystical glimmerings of twilight. Thus contrasted it appears colorless and cold, like the marble it worked in, though always pure, because sincerely de-

vout. And that other-world aspiration which gave birth to Mediæval Art was no less sincere. It was no mere fancy, no half-hearted belief; on the contrary, it was a clear conviction of the *reality* of that unseen world to which it ventured to give beautiful expression. But the natural world having now lost its sacred subjectivity, and the spiritual world its vivid objectivity, it may well be asked where is the visible basis for a distinctively religious Art of the future to rest upon; can it be rooted in any third principle distinct from either of those which gave birth to Greek and Mediæval Art? If the world of Nature be no longer deemed sacred, and the world of Spirit no longer regarded as objectively real, then, so far as outward investiture is concerned, the modern religious mind would seem to be suspended in space, as it were, having neither world to rest upon.

A faith that has become altogether abstract loses its fervor and its creative power; it is rendered incapable of bodying forth its formless ideals from sheer lack of substance. Consequently this modern phase of religious thought has given birth to no distinctively religious Art. In architecture it galvanises or partially resuscitates the forms of the past with an intellectual or external impulse that has nothing whatever of the old fervor of faith in it—and in other forms of Art the same thing has come to pass. In short, the fact cannot be concealed that our modern abstractions have pushed the heavens far off out of sight; they are no longer *at hand* as they were in the time of the Apostles, or in the later days of mediæval saints. The objective visions of the latter are now regarded as a form of brain disease, superinduced by unhealthy regimen, for which proper food and out-door exercise is the prescribed remedy.

It is not intended to bemoan this change that has come about in the modern religious mind, but to regard it calmly as it stands opposed to the Apostolic and mediæval phases of Christian belief; and to recognise and analyse it as a distinct form of religious thought, wholly unlike that which gave birth either to Greek or Mediæ-

val Art—neither deifying natural, nor realising spiritual things. The question then is: How does it manifest itself, that we may discern its true character? for we can know but little of the nature of thought except as we find it outwardly manifested. Distinctly, then, this modern phase of mind is neither pantheistic nor spiritual, but *moral*, outwardly manifesting itself in the form of *secular* institutions. It is distinctively humanitarian; it believes primarily in *man*, sympathises wholly with man, aims to ameliorate and elevate the outward condition of man. It has transferred all the resources of genius and invention to the comforts of the home; the temple no longer fills the first place. Its tendency is to secularise religion by emptying it almost wholly of its mystical element, reducing it to a strictly moral basis. These are its general tendencies or pervasive characteristics, though there are indeed exceptional phases of modern thought which manifestly contradict this view. The outcome of this modern activity of mind is, then, primarily, that the natural man is outwardly better provided for than ever before in the world's history. He has been made more comfortable—the maimed, diseased, the helpless, are mercifully provided for by “institutions;” and society, ideally, is regulated on the principle of outwardly benefiting the largest number of all sorts and conditions of men. The mind of the modern man having been thus exclusively directed to these things, the result is that the natural man is greatly benefited. But is he really happier? Has this outward improvement conferred a corresponding inward benefit? Is he *spiritually* improved by being thus made more at ease with respect to his outward environment? In many respects the indications are plain enough that he never was more widely separated from things spiritual; nor has any age given birth to more acute forms of doubt or denial of things sacred—forming the very foundations of religious belief. It is not an affirmative, but a critical age. Nothing is more foreign to its spirit than religious zeal, or a devout enthusiasm such as characterised the Apostolic or the Mediæval ages.

As far as *expression* goes, there is nothing that corresponds, at the present time, with the joyousness of Greek Art, nor with the triumphant ardor and lively faith of Mediæval Art./ If there has been, until recently, a marked characteristic of the modern religious mind, it is that of a pensive melancholy traversed with misgivings, or clinging, with half-closed eyes, to some far-off impulse that has become historic, rather than frankly affirming its own faith. Greater stress has been laid on an historic than on a living faith, and the result is that its glory is wholly of the past. Can faith be efficacious that is not born of a *living* impulse? Can men of one age subsist upon the faith of another age? Can the modern man feel the full and true inspiration of that which is no longer personal to himself? These questions are not born of theological inquiry, they arise in the mind when root-ideas are apprehended through their external forms of expression, not as systems of thought, but as found incorporated with the *life* of the time. For what formulated system of thought could place before the mind so vividly the very pith and marrow of the Hebrew faith, as we find it expressed in the sacred drama of Job? or of the Greek mind and faith, as we find it in Homer? or of the Roman mind, as it is expressed in Virgil? When we come to the Christian faith we find its earliest burning attestation in the Epistles of Paul; and its non-sacred, yet fervent expression flaming brightly in the pages of Dante; its colder and more distant reflection in Milton; and, if I were to designate any single poem of recent date that embodied the leading characteristics of the mind of to-day, it would be the "In Memoriam" of Tennyson, which, nevertheless, is but a faint fore-gleam of an approaching dawn. In these various forms of expression are embodied, with more or less power and vividness, the characteristics of the faith of their respective epochs. They are most truly representative, for it is only where thought has been incorporated with the life that it is genuinely characteristic of any time or age. In these poems we find belief, not as an abstract system of thought, but as an energising principle coloring the whole life of the

time, and expressing itself in action. Apart from Revelation, therefore, there seems to have been at various times a culminating point reached by the natural mind, in successive ages, which finds expression in some crowning form of Art, gathering to itself all that is best and most characteristic, and running it into a mould that is imperishable because of its beauty. But there is noticeable a fundamental distinction in that which thus proceeds from the natural mind, clearly distinguishing it, even in form, from that which flows from a spiritual or heavenly source. For if we contrast the *Inferno* with the *Paradiso* of Dante, or the *Paradise Lost* with the *Paradise Regained* of Milton, it is clearly manifest that the power and penetration of thought, as well as the reality and beauty of the external form, is most marked in the former of these works in both instances. The sense of *reality* is more marked, and there is an instinctive vividness of conception with respect to the evil passions as expressed in action, that is in strong contrast with the paleness or conventionality of the imagery of the virtuous or good. The reverse of this is always the case in sacred Scripture: there the vivid imagery is most marked in that which is revealed to the spiritual sense; the thought is more intense and the form more beautiful when a pure and righteous aspiration is dwelt upon. Before these interior visions the objects of sense fade into less palpable forms, or sink wholly out of sight—it is, indeed, a realisation of the unseen with a glory of its own, before which the natural appears as but a shadow. In the one case the power lies in depicting the passions; in the other, in giving expression to righteous aspirations; in the former, evil finds its most vivid realisation; in the latter, righteousness is the inspiring objective, blazing forth from the sacred pages as from a sun. Now this is always a characteristic of an affirmative faith, viz., that it makes *real* the unseen universe; that it renders *objective* the spiritual truth. In the time of the Apostles the manifestations of the HOLY GHOST made it plainly apparent that the heavens were “at hand,” not as a mere matter of speculative belief, but as a vivid and precious reality, of which even little groups of believers in distant

places were themselves *witnesses*; and the mediæval impulse, with its intensity of faith, grew out of a like conviction, resting on similar grounds of belief. A similar faith is now again taking hold of men's minds. The effort to naturalise the spiritual by lowering it to the plane of the natural, in the place of spiritualising the natural by elevating it to the spiritual—a reversal of the old order of progress in religious thought—has resulted in lessening the reverence for things sacred without yielding any marked benefit to faith. It has *put out the eyes of the spirit* very effectually by reducing the spiritual world to an empty sphere of abstractions with which the common mind has little sympathy from its inability to think in that way. For, after having experienced a more excellent dispensation in times past, which gave body and form to abstract conceptions—giving even to the Highest-spiritual a gracious investiture—it is not in the way of progress to return again to that which is formless and void.

But a far truer tendency is now again making itself felt in the direction of realising the unseen, and this has ever been the characteristic of great ages of faith. There is a new impulse now everywhere manifest that is again working in this direction. A sound is heard in the valley of dry bones, the skeletons of faith are again being clothed with a living investiture. A new enthusiasm—calm and rational, yet *spiritual*—is awakening; a "new theology," that is as old as Christianity—in short, a renewal of the religious life and aspiration, as distinguished from mere abstract beliefs. The heavens, which had receded beyond the stars, are again drawing near with a return of the *consciousness* of the immanence of Deity, involving the immanence of the heavens likewise—light is breaking, the dawn of a new day is at hand. What will be the outcome of this approaching era, blending in one affirmative impulse reason and faith, it is idle to predict, but it may be safely affirmed that it will be none the less momentous from its long-delayed birth-throes. It will then again be made manifest that an affirmative faith, realising the unseen, is at the root of all that is most moving in thought, as it is the inspiration of all that is most beautiful in Art.

JOHN F. WEIR.

THE PROVINCE OF FICTION IN LITERATURE.

TO the class of elderly reading women the name of fiction means the lingering beside the late winter fire of life, and the recalling there of whatever was tenderest and most interesting in the experience of their lifetime. To a vastly larger class, of girls and young men, it means a *libretto*—a rendering into their own tongue, better or worse, of the bright and alluring play and song and dance of life ; a *libretto* illustrated, moreover, with etchings or line engravings on every page ; or it means views, by the best hands, of real scenes, and of things done and happening in different parts of the great world, in one part of which they themselves are seeing and doing. To a large class of professional men and others it means a rest and refreshment of the mind from hard and strained thought, from strife of the courts and public assemblies.

On the other hand, there are a great many serious (not always thoughtful) persons, many anxious, some careworn men and women, to whom it means a dangerous and destructive element among the agencies of the world which threaten the moral health, and of course the eternal welfare of the great throng of human beings who are not in earnest with their existence ; it means pictures of an unreal or vicious state of society, of ill-governed and ill-guided passion, of crime that has a poisonous temptation in it.

One thing it means to them all : it means all that are called novels, romances, plays, and tales ; it means everything, in narrative or dramatic form, which does not claim, or claims falsely, to be an account, truly given, of "fact"—of that which has really been in the world.

Our readers can easily see, with us, that, as between those several classes, feeling and opinion about this kind of literature must be widely different.

Of those elderly ladies, reading and musing by their waning fires, it may, perhaps, be safely said, that they would be almost content if every other book, "except the very good" together with the best of the stories, should happen to perish from the press. Most of the young of both sexes would assuredly go a good deal further, and would, with one voice, cry out for a greater Alexandrian fire for all other books, with the presses and printers besides, if so much as this were needed to make room for a full and never-failing flow of plays and novels. These, in their judgment, make the only literature that has life and interest for any readers but those who are represented by one or other of the inelegant, if expressive, names of "goody-goodies" or "old grannies."

As for that great and intelligent class of busy men, who read for rest and for the setting-up of strained or jaded minds, they would claim that, while they must have light reading, bad books are not what they want; they would have all these smothered before they could reach the light, and for the reason that they do vast mischief to unripe young minds and hearts full of tinder.

When we come for an opinion to our last class, of those who heartily feel themselves bound to hate and cry down "stories and stage-plays" of all kinds (unless such as are carefully revised and approved for Sunday-schools), the case with these was closed as soon as opened, and sentence was pronounced without a word of pleading. There is a gloomy feeling in many of them that, if a reckoning were had with all literature, of men now living and of men whose work outlives them, one sort with another, the amount of harm which it has done goes beyond all good that can be claimed for it immeasurably; and the great worker of mischief has been Fiction.

We are not curious to forecast how facts would stand on each side of that question, if they could be gathered and counted to the last of them, for no gain could come of set-

ting it in either way. It would not be more absurd to try to put out literature from the midday sky of the civilised world than it would be to seek to take out of literature fiction. As this made all the beauty of the dawn of civilisation, so, it is likely, will its many-hued glories be the last to fade slowly from the sky, if a night shall come to our civilisation before the New and Last Day of this heaven and earth. That harm has been done, and is now in doing, by means of books, and by means of unwritten ballads and legends, too, if the befouling of hearts and the making of them wicked be harm, would never be questioned by any one, young or old, who knows enough to judge; and in all this, let it be confessed freely, what is called fiction has done a great deal of mischief; and, alas! a great deal of the mischief has been deadly. We can easily go from little to great in counting up the charges that can be fairly laid against it: that through it (to begin among the least) has been fed a liking for folly and luxury and display and self-indulgent uselessness; that through it the best safeguards of honesty and chastity and truth have been sapped; that highwaymen even, and burglars, and most bloody murderers, have been trained and taught in books that have had crowds of readers; and the basest and most destructive crimes against family and kindred and friendship and honor have been made attractive and distinguishing.

What then? The tongues in most men lie; in many betray to sin and ruin; in many commit perjury and blasphemy; but, as we cannot think of getting rid of the tongues out of men's mouths, or of rearing a race of tongueless men, as there is a kind of bees without stings, we are sent off to seek some other remedy for mischief of the tongue; and, moreover, the tongue does incomparably more good than harm.

Most of us use words without knowing sharply what they mean, and many more without thinking what their meanings mean. Fiction is not falsehood, nor is it a teacher of crime. Few know, for want of thinking, how far into our daily speech the need of fiction goes, and

how limp and lifeless our language would fall if fiction were once all drawn out of it. Wings, too, would be stripped off in that process, and all would be robbed of color. We should then want a new language for all the common appearances and events of nature, earthly and beyond the earth. Not only the great sun, if brought strictly to his bearings, would no longer be credited in our speech for manifold activities, but he would not be allowed so simple things as his rising and setting, which were given to him as long ago as when speaking man waked out of his first sleep and hailed the dawning of day. The leaves might be said to fall, but no more should prose or poetry have leave to tell us of the "falling dews." The nursery would lose (and miss) its "twinkling" star. The play of the wind's breath in the ripening grain, and across the waves, and whirling the dust, and fanning the brow, we must not, if that were the sad condition of our mother-tongue, speak of any more.

Happily, the common speech will never give up what it has of poetry in it, and our poets, from Homer down, have used the simple words which all men could take to their hearts. Here are the wind's breath playing with the leaves and the tree yearning to the season of sunshine :

Φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει· ἄλλα δὲ θύλη
Τηλεθώστα φύει· ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη.

So the great poets of the old time sang, so Dante sang, using known words ; so others sing, and the words of our lower speech exhaled and taken up into poetry, having been freshened and quickened there, fall again into the daily use and keep it living and fresh.

This is fiction, indeed, but fiction that is a shorter way by far, and a more effective way, of telling truth than the barest matter of fact could possibly be. Most people habitually carry common-sense with them, as a carpenter carries his two-foot rule, and will have no quarrel with the fiction which makes all talking easier and really truer. Exactness, as some take it, would very often give a very inexact impression in what is told

or written. If we call the woods green, we are saying truth of them, although, in fact, the trees look, even to the hasty eye, if it peers under, brown, gray, and black tenfold, in downright weight, as compared with green; and, if we but go inside the bark, show a hundred to one, it may be, of yellow and white, as compared with green. Now, what would be the truer account of the woods by the roadside or the river's bank? If we had called the trees black, or gray, or brown, in one of our happy summers, we should have done them wrong. To every ear that heard we should have belied them, for all eyes saw them green. If the child shows us that "the sky is blue as blue can be," we will not gainsay it, nor let it be gainsaid by our wise friend who knows that the sky is not blue; and, moreover, that there is no sky at all, if we want the exact literal fact.

We do not want such exactness or such fact in such a case, for they are not the truth. There are times in which we really need to take strong words to tell our truth in. Then, to say "it made my heart leap," as, in other tongues, "*mi balza il cor*," and the like; "it curdled the blood in my veins;" "my heart was in my mouth;" "it fairly made my flesh creep;" "my very hair stood on end;" "the blood all ran back to my heart;" "his soul went out at his eyes;" "his hand was itching to take it;" to say any of these, or countless other phrases like them, at one of such times, is to say the truth as it would not be said by any tamer rhetoric held back by anatomy, and physiology, and some other sciences, and by common sense itself. If we must have it so, there is no rennet that can thicken the red stream of life; no heart, however large we call it, can hold at once all the blood from veins and arteries; and all these other sayings can be shown to be against science or common-sense.

A silly accuracy would not only lay its hard hand over the mother's mouth singing her glad carol, and talking her happy nonsense, but clap its gag upon the tongue of the prattler uttering the most winsome speech that man ever learns on earth.

This world would lose in beauty wonderfully if the Great Maker were to take out all fiction from His work. This broad blue, filling all places in the sky ; the rainbow, which makes beautiful the heaven's stormy darkness ; the hazy grace of hills and woods far away, these must thereafter be for us no more. Not only should the giant spectre never stalk again athwart the Brocken mists ; nor the mirage throw up into the air the perfect likenesses of towns or ships, seascape or landscape ; but the laughter and shouts of happy childhood should nevermore come back from the barn's side, or the cliff, or the hollow height ; no longer the windows of cottage or workshop should show themselves untempting, but dazzling as burnished gold, against the evening sun ; the clouds should never again put on the shape and look of mountain or valley, of angel or monster, of hounds and huntsmen, of fighting or fleeing hosts ; the west should nevermore heave up its heaps of priceless beauty ; the frost on the pane should no more put to shame the rarest tracery of art, Corinthian, Hindoo, or Moorish ; no longer should the flowers set patterns for our looms and easels ; and lake and river never should again show in their clear depths the bank and tree and wall and starry sky as true and bright as those which stand beside or hang above them. If all fiction were taken out of God's works, the sun should never again cast shadow of tree or rock, or throw our outline from us ; much less should he draw our features on the metal, and fix there the fleeting tenderness of love and the very limpidness and light of the deep eye. From that sad moment in which our fair world should be so dis-graced, no being and no thing shall ever wear a likeness to any of another kind, or wear another look beside its own. Beauty and grace, till that time always freely borrowed from light and shade and surroundings, must be forever from that time forbidden. This would not leave anywhere even a chance elegance, given by size or shape or outline.

These are a few instances : fiction gives interest and beauty to the works of God all over the world that we are living in.

If literal exactness might take out of the Bible whatever it could prove to be true fiction, it would make frightful havoc. We open at a venture, and find the One Hundred and Seventh Psalm; we take it in our Prayer Book version, because this has kept more of the living brightness and grace and melody of poetry than that which is called the Authorised. Now, on the score of not keeping close to fact, a man might stand and contradict its words almost as fast as they fell. Even the "Authorised Version," which has rubbed and brushed off so much of glossiness and color, here would not escape a large share of the censure of this hard critic.

The strong and beautiful words: *He satisfieth the empty soul, and filleth the hungry soul with goodness. Such as sit in darkness and the shadow of death, being fast bound in misery and iron*, will never pass. Nor these: *He also brought down their heart through heaviness; they fell down, and there was none to help them. He brought them out of darkness, and the shadow of death, and broke their bonds in sunder*. Nearly every one of these words must be challenged, to satisfy exactness of one sort. Whether the soul is or is not at any time empty is beyond our ken; but surely no goodness of any literal sort, within or without the man, will satisfy the literal emptiness or fill up hunger. No races are exactly, in point of fact, sitting in darkness; nor is death anybody or anything, so far as we can think, that can have a shadow; and, moreover, if one has a shadow, let us ask what would be his way to cast it.

The words *misery and iron*, better than Bismarck's famous "blood and iron," make a description wondrous short, but frightfully intense and strong, and suggesting, too, a length and bitterness inexpressible. Now, misery and iron cannot be fluxed, or amalgamated, or welded together, to make fast bonds for men, if words only made up of letters are to be held to; but if the life of bondage and moaning wretchedness is to be cut into and shown out to us, without holding the raw too long to the cold air, how else can it be done so thoroughly and shortly as here?

He hath broken the gates of brass, and smitten the bars of iron in sunder: how true, to millions of hearts set free! but will any man, in Germany or elsewhere, show a bit of any of those brazen gates, or a scrap of the bars, as perhaps some one may bring out a coin of Sanconiaton, or a brick of the mighty hunter, Nimrod? *They were even hard at death's door:* what sort of house has death to keep? and must not the gates and doors be true αἰδαιο πύλαι and πύλαι ἀόρατοι—unseen gates of the Unseen? The revising men of 1611, in the verses which so admirably describe the shipman's perils, have kept very near the Prayer Book, and so have kept much of the life and freshness and strength; but if all who put into a speech to be "understood of the people" what was written or spoken in a strange tongue are, in the doing of this, to keep themselves close to the letter and not to the soul of words, then all here are open to censure alike. Ships and men are not *carried up to heaven and down again to the deep or depths; their soul doth not melt away because of the trouble. They are at their wits' end.* Are they? How? If we say "make an end of" a peewit, or a partridge, it is a figure of speech; but there is no *end* to a wit of any kind. Yet if criticism strike hereabouts, it is to be feared that it will hit the Psalmist a dozen times where it would once touch our honest Churchmen putting his words into their dear English.

But we are tired, and so, still more, our readers are tired, of this. The whole Bible could be gone through in this way, and wronged as easily. No man can *bow down his soul like a bulrush*, or like anything else that bows; no man's heart can *burn within him*; no man can be *lifted up* by prosperity, or *cast down* by adversity; *the LORD setteth not up one, and putteth not down another*, as those words are used in a cupboard or dairy; but those words are such as housemaid or dairymaid might herself use, if her heart were, as we say, full, and she were lifted above her common self; and they are such as she would best understand and feel most from another in such a case. A man could never *draw nigh*

to God, if he took counsel of the letter and not of the spirit; but happily, if *the letter* (handled after that foolish fashion) *killeth, the spirit* (supplied as the LORD supplies) most surely *giveth life*.

Above we have scarce touched the Bible; if all in it that is not matter-of-fact truth—all, in short, that is fiction—were cut out, all that would be left of it afterward would be a sadly shrunken book, whose reading would be tiresome beyond all power of reverence or duty for those who know it as it is. The book, as we have it now, is worthy of being called Holy Writ.

The drawing of the human mind toward harmless fiction is so strong, and begins so early, not less with peoples than with single persons, that we may well think it to have been implanted in us. How high up, in the climate of civilisation, man must go before coming to the region most favorable for fancy and imagination, we are not ready to say; but almost everywhere, and almost even where we see man at the lowest, we find these or traces of them, and they show themselves in figurative language or in some form of larger fiction. So it is said of savages and half-educated men that their best talking is in figures.

The language of our former wild men was not an invention of the author of the Leather-stocking Tales; nor did any man invent and supply ready-made the fanciful speech that brightens our nurseries and the twilight in our winter parlors, not a word of which came out of the young mind without having been pushed all the way through with the whole might of a little, true, fast-beating heart behind it. If there be, from the outset of life, a sacred love of truth, and a sacred fear and hate of lying, then surely imagination, one of the best gifts that man has, may be safely allowed to do its own work for any one who has it. The man may make as many romances and plays and epic poems and ballads as ever were written by all other men, and nothing but good shall ever come of his making to himself or any other.

The craving for stories, which in our rather heavy forefathers was so strong that it would follow through

long and tiresome—dreary and tiresome—romances, for the licking, a very thin sweetness of the poor invention of their day, and sometimes would follow a bare scent of it, was but a stretching out of the liking for war-stories and fairy-stories and love-stories and witch-and-wizard-stories heard of men-at-arms and nurses and grooms. Their tiresome old romances, of which, as one would think, beginning and middle would be forgotten long before coming to the end (as we find, indeed, that sometimes the maker himself forgot), were the best that they knew enough to call for at the hands of such as could make them. As the taste and knowledge of those who read and heard grew better, the faculty of the writers grew in proportion, and the gain on both sides was fast. So it has been, too, among all races everywhere that have in the same way advanced. The taste and the faculty are in all races, and in each grow better as the race grows more refined and thoughtful.

To this our LORD JESUS addresses himself in the parables—stories which were understood by the hearers, just as we understand them in reading, to be not recitals of facts, though absolutely true accounts of man under various conditions of life and in varying circumstances. Now, taking our LORD's parables as He means them, observing that they are stories and are fiction, and that this fiction is not merely harmless and not merely instructive, but bears in it a living interest for men, because men take to stories kindly—Æsop's, and Phædrus's, and Menenius's—and in stories take in truth and wisdom as they would not without them, how simple it is, and how natural, to ask why fiction on a larger scale, if not only it be harmless, but if it bear that in it which shall draw men to be happier and better, ought not to be written and read, and written and read forever? And why not written by those who can write best? and why not read by the best people for the best ends?

For fiction to be good, and to do endless good, it is not needed that it shall, all the while or at any time, profess to have been written to teach morals or religion;

it is needed that it shall be true to life, and written by a man of honest conscience and a sure eye for what is great and true and lovely. The bad man makes fiction bad only as the bad man mixes the poison, or as he spreads the scandal or the lie, or as he betrays trust of woman or man. To show us heroic manhood; to show us womanhood chaste and true and strong, for God's sake, in its gentleness; to show us the pretty happiness and loving innocence of childhood; to show us poverty not base, and weakness brave; to show us strength given in the trials in which men most need strength; to show us the calm choosing of death instead of life, where death came of duty or honor; to show us faith stronger than death, or life, or shame, or want, or comfort, or success; to show us lives, and deeds, and loves, such that we feel, with all our feeling, that human nature in them is what GOD made human nature for, and what ours must and shall be with the help of GOD—this is high work indeed. This is the work of the best fiction.

If readers will choose such reading, the world of men will be the better.

Now, if any small school of sensible men and earnest women could at any time have caught the world asleep, and could have put a bar that would stay upon every class of books which were not, or which were not at the least intended to be, teachers of pure mathematics, or of metaphysics, or morals, or natural science, or grammar, or book-keeping, or to be records of history and fact, would they have done well? Most certainly not; a class does not make sure of all its members, in books any more than among men of good blood. The case is simple: good fiction is good; bad fiction is bad.

Falsehood may lurk in a Greek accident or Latin syntax and prosody; even in the very books which are, if any are, types of matters of fact—check-books and account-books. Records of meetings, parish registers, reports of investigating committees, public professions, confessions in public, catalogues of institutions (even of learning and morals), sworn testimony, marking lists in girls' schools and boys' schools—some of all these have

lied deliberately, although every single one of them is, by its very nature, specially pledged to the truth. The bad man or the man of dull conscience can allow himself to cover thoroughly the truth or tell a falsehood, under any heading, and can put his name to it in his best handwriting. The bad heart makes a lying or defiling book out of so dry materials as statistics, which are thought to be as far from fiction as East from West.

But many people, who never heard that pretty character of history, that it "is philosophy teaching by example," have thought for themselves that history has much the same living human interest as stories or plays which are not records of fact, and has much the same power of drawing men to truth and goodness, by moving likenesses of those who have been true and good, in our common human nature, and in the same way has the power of making vice and baseness hateful; and that the business of history is to teach, while that of fiction is to entertain and to give pleasure.

Undoubtedly good history is interesting and improving and ennobling, but there is no occasion for putting fiction down to set up history. This certainly cannot teach the better; it very often is less true. Some of our historians best known, if they would deal fairly by their readers, ought to give warning at the outset to walk, as on eggs, over much of their material, which has been laid down, with the utmost care, to save it from breaking through at the first footfall. History can be made to hide the truth and tell the untruth as thoroughly and easily as any written or spoken thing; sometimes it is written for the very purpose. History, moreover, can debauch the heart and debase the conscience, all the more because of its accepted character of being an honest teacher; but it can be untrusty and faithless, as is sometimes a music-teacher or a writing-master.

Where history and fiction have worked on the same subject, with the same materials, the latter's work has been more true to the life than the other's often. Shakespeare may not have made Henry VIII. to seem nearly the worse than coarse, strong-headed, brutal despot

that he was, but he has come vastly nearer to the truth in his one play, and that in spite not only of the danger of forfeiting his license, but of the danger of the dreadful penalties of *præmunire*, than Froude, who, with no fear of anything before him, has taken a dozen volumes to make the furious, lawless lecher into the best hero that he could. And though Scott was enough of a loyal Briton to have in his blood the feeling that lords, alive or dead, are larger than beings of this earth, and kings (scarcely more Scottish kings than others) are indefinitely larger than lords, he has drawn for us that very wise fool, King Jamie, more to the foolish life than the great historian Hume.

We could easily find other instances, a good many to the like purpose, but we will come to a comparison, in truthfulness of another sort, which is worth more yet.

Both history and fiction teach by example mostly. Neither the one nor the other could thrust the moral too strongly into the story (*neu nimis fortiter*) "*officium virile*" (chori) "*defendat*;" the moralising of the old Grecian chorus must be left to the old Grecian masters. Both history and fiction must make manhood and truth and honor attractive or conquering, and both must make meanness and greed and grasping selfishness and lust that breaks all laws hateful by the skilful and strong drawing of the persons of their story, the right handling of the action, and the countless little touches which, though each leaves no special mark, all together do very much indeed for the abiding effect. Now, it would be hard to find in history (perhaps not so hard to find in real life) anything like an equal show of characters that have made us feel, once for all, how we can do more than we are doing to fill honestly our place, and can follow a conscience better taught and trained to loftier truthfulness—a conscience more quick with God's living might than ours has been. History, most often, cannot give space enough to those characters or to those deeds that best point a moral. Livy has done admirably in his compact drawing of the tragedy of the good King Servius; the ragings of the brutal thing, the elder

daughter, who by murder of husband and sister gets to herself her husband's brother, her sister's husband; goads him to her father's murder for his throne, and then drives horses and chariot across the dead body on her way home; the equal fierceness and brutality of her mate in wickedness, the proud Tarquin; the gentleness and fearlessness of the aged King—a page or two of a great writer makes all pitiful, hateful, horrible; but in Shakespeare's *Lear* and his children, what woe, what dignity, what tenderness, what faithfulness forever teaching, never to be unheeded or forgotten!

Look at poor, discrowned *Œdipous*, in *Sophocles*, expiating to fate the guilt that he had never knowingly committed; to the last better than a king; *Antigone*, undying model of all that is womanly, a daughter and sister and lover, everywhere true, fearless, self-forgetting; Shakespeare's *Desdemona*, the chaste, trusting, unchanging, tender wife; the utter villain *Iago*; Scott's *Flora McIvor*, the gentle, lofty, consecrated maiden, and *Jeanie Deans*, a heroine, if ever heroine was, and men and women—such a wealth of example and warning as we cannot bring in here—fiction can show to back its claim as teacher.

It is unmatched; can it be ever matched by the best history?

ROBERT LOWELL.

DOGMA NO ANTIDOTE FOR DOUBT.

Catholic Dogma. By the Rev. THOMAS S. CARTWRIGHT. THE CHURCH REVIEW, No. CLVIII., July, 1885.

Dogma No Antidote for Doubt. By A MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK BAR. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1885.

Catholic Dogma the Antidote of Doubt. By the Rt. Rev. W. E. McLAREN, S.T.D. New York: James Pott & Co. 1883.

IF a prize had been offered for any nine lines or less of plain English which should contain the largest amount of deftly concealed irony, and the smallest ingredient of serious truth, we think there can be little doubt that the author of the opening sentences of the article first above named would have been entitled to its award.

Easy as would be the task of making that fact glaringly apparent, we purposely forbear; because, while nothing could induce us to be really disrespectful to the Bishop of Chicago, and we should be sorry to be thought so, even without reason, still, any specific attempt to illustrate it would be likely to incur more or less of risk in that direction.

We shall content ourselves therefore, in the meanwhile, with referring any reader who may desire to be convinced of the substantial truth of our proposition to the Bishop's book, for the fullest evidence thereof; or, better still, to the volume largely devoted to its review, by "A Member of the New York Bar," where the task may be found done ready to hand.

Our present purpose, fortunately, lies within narrower

limits, and is, mainly, to show the injustice and groundlessness of the general charges contained in the article above designated, whilst, haply, bringing for a moment into clearer light some of the principles of sound Churchmanship involved in the discussion; which will also, at the same time, serve to demonstrate the completeness with which its author has failed to accomplish his apparent object.

Ostensibly he undertook to vindicate the Bishop, and to confound his critic; whereas, instead, he has constructed his argument so as to establish the correctness and "orthodoxy" of the views of the "Member of the New York Bar," which, he expressly admits, are in perfect conformity with the doctrines of the Church, as well as with his own belief. On the other hand, he has not even attempted to justify the Bishop's "astounding theory," or to approve, or even to palliate, any of his unchurchly views; preferring rather to ignore them, and to set up, in the Bishop's vindication, only a general denial, without even a pretence of bringing up facts for their support.

Before entering upon a more formal consideration of the article before us, we desire first, to make one or two brief general remarks upon it, and then to call attention to several extraordinary detached statements which ought not to go unnoticed. Their chief significance, however, may be to show such a careless and loose habit of thought in their writer that thereafter no one ought to be surprised at the labored, confused, and utterly illogical character of the entire essay.

Unhappily, indeed, there are certain minds, sufficiently intelligent in general, and even learned, so far as the acquisition of mere facts go, that do not hesitate to sit in judgment upon and condemn as illogical any argument, however sound and faultless, which leads to unwelcome conclusions; but who seem, at least so far as some of their performances indicate, never to have apprehended what logic really means. They will heap line upon line, and sentence upon sentence, and then announce a conclusion which can find no possible support in the pre-

mises laid down. Judged by the article now before us, it is to this class that its author must be assigned. Without adducing any proof thereof, or even so much as referring to any evidence, he has not hesitated to declare, and that, too, with the air of a metaphysical dictator who is not to be questioned, that the work of Bishop McLaren's critic "is singularly weak and defective," not only in its theology, but in its logic.

As to his opinion of its theology, we should claim no right to assail that, since theology, as commonly understood, is to a great extent matter of opinion only. But with logic the case is different. Logic stands upon its own independent and objective merits. Its claims are not to be assailed until the means and methods by which they have been reached can be shown, within the scope of common reason, to be defective; and that, too, quite independently of all personal notions and opinions. The conclusions of logic, as such, can never be refuted or set aside by the assertion of any mere opinion.

The mere opinion, therefore, of his reviewer will never prove the logic of the "Member of the New York Bar" to be weak, especially as that has already withstood the scrutiny of a rigorous and exacting public press; and still more especially since, after a careful and critical examination by some of the ablest and most impartial scholars of the age, as well abroad as at home, they have pronounced it to be, in a logical point of view, sound and unanswerable. As yet no attempt, so far as we know, has been made to answer it which has had even the semblance of a logical argument. This we shall endeavor to make particularly apparent as to the article now under consideration.

It is characterised throughout by sweeping and general assertions, which can have no place in the realms of pure criticism; unless, indeed, they be such as are admitted by general consent, or are sustained by evidence duly set forth, or at least clearly referred to, and showing that they are justly applicable to the subjects under review.

Thus it charges that the work of the "Member of the New York Bar" abounds in gratuitous assumptions;

whereas, in truth, it proceeds upon no special assumption whatever, unless it be this : that Bishop McLaren shall be held to mean what he says.

Again, the charge is made that "it imputes to the Bishop a purpose for which he is not responsible." But without knowing just what is meant by this, since it is not stated, the complete answer to it is, that *no* purpose is imputed to the Bishop which is not indicated by his own teachings, and his own declarations ; not by words put into his mouth, but by those only which he has chosen to utter, and which have no uncertain interpretation.

The same is true as to what is said of drawing "inferences which are not warranted by facts." For at least the facts are given, and fully stated, so that the fairness of the inferences drawn from them may be adjudged by every reader for himself.

Instead, too, of confounding "words and things which essentially differ," as is further charged, the Bishop's reviewer, on the contrary, carefully discriminates and points out the true difference between words and things which the Bishop himself confuses. As, for instance, between honest doubt on the one hand, and that lying perversity on the other, impressible by no moral argument, and which, while believing, denies that it believes. [See *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt*, Chapters II. and III.]

And finally it is charged that—were the principle of the writer carried out to its logical results, it would break down the barriers CHRIST has erected for the preservation of the Church, and would open up a way for the widest latitudinarianism in doctrine, and for endless confusion and strife in government and worship.

Now, as we shall presently see, the principle which our reverend reviewer declares, and with perfect accuracy, to be the "fundamental principle" of the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt*, is, "that the Bible is the Word of GOD, Divine and authoritative ; that in it we find the Rule of Faith, and that from it we derive the doctrines and duties which are necessary to salvation." Now, will our reverend reviewer seriously insist that to carry out this principle to its logical results is to break down the barriers which CHRIST has erected for the pres-

ervation of His Church, and to flood the world with all the evils he has depicted? We think not. To do so would be to repudiate the great Reformation, and to denounce and deny the broadest and firmest principle of his own Church. A few lines farther on he intimates that the "Member of the New York Bar" is guilty of "sophistry and evasion." It is indeed only an insinuation, for no instance of either fault has been pointed out. And as to "evasion," we think it may be said that, if the whole vocabulary of things and thoughts had been ransacked to find the word least applicable to the book in question, "evasion" should have been the word selected. If ever a book went squarely and directly up to the points of attack, we claim that this one may well be allowed to be of that character.

As well might the spear of Diomed be charged with "evading" the face of Pandarus, when at its stroke,

He headlong fell . . .
. . . and where he fell, he died.

Its writer then sets out by declaring that one of the fundamental principles of the Church (which, it is added—really it would seem as if to provoke a derisive smile—"Bishop McLaren is not one whit too soon in reasserting!") is that "*It should be accepted*, WITHOUT PROOF, that there is in the Church a clearly defined basis of belief, an authoritative standard and guide; for faith is of the essence of salvation, and a prime condition of spiritual communion."

But on that principle the Koran, or the Book of Mormon, would be quite as obligatory on our consciences, if not as valuable, as the Christian Bible.

Here, too, we come to another typical indication that the reviewer belongs to that class of mind which seems to have no conception of what logic means. For in the very next breath, after having required us to accept it "*without proof*," he proceeds to inquire:

What is the objective principle of faith? and what again is the logical or historical ground on which faith rests, or the evidence by which it is sustained?

If we ought to accept it *without proof*, what need or right have we to demand logical, historical, or any other "evidence" wherewith to sustain it?

Or if, as he next tells us, that "In its essential principles and facts truth is conformable to reason, and is comprehensible by reason," why should we be required to accept any alleged truth as the "basis of belief, an authoritative standard and guide" in the Church, "*without proof*?" These and similar questions force themselves upon our attention at the very introduction of his argument, and at once tend to characterise it as confused and inconsistent.

Just here we have also a sample of misleading and untenable assertion. He says the Bishop "has *shown*" that "truth exists in some distinct and embodied (sic) form." But to this averment we must enter a respectful though emphatic denial, for Bishop McLaren "has shown" nothing of the kind.

The utmost that he has done in this direction is to assert and argue that, so far as the Church and the human race are concerned, truth exists only "in the consciousness of the whole congregation of the faithful," in "the mind of the Catholic Church as a unit;" [see *Catholic Dogma*, Chap. XIV.] and that its "distinct and embodied form" is to be found only in the expression of that consciousness; and further, that such expression is compactly and intelligently enshrined in the Catholic Creeds [Ibid., p. 119]; and that *they* contain "all that a Christian man ought to know and believe" [p. 49]; while we are also assured that no individual can perceive the truth with sufficient distinctness [p. 85].

Furthermore, we are asked to believe, in spite of the convictions of every intelligent person to the contrary, that all this constitutes veritable Catholic Dogma, and is universally accepted as true; and that such universal acceptance, thus affirmed, is the only, but yet an all-sufficient, reason why every doubter should adopt such belief and make it his own.

We are left, however, entirely to conjecture, and that, too, in very dangerous and momentous uncertainty, as to

what these Catholic Creeds, thus prescribed, in truth are; and as to whether, for instance, we are to include among them the Creed of Pius IV., which is regarded by far the larger portion of the Christian world as pre-eminently *the* Catholic Creed, though repudiated by all the reformed Churches in Christendom.

There need be no hesitation in admitting, with the Bishop and his reviewer—indeed, we think no one can admit more manifestly than does the “Member of the New York Bar” throughout his book—that “It may not have been competent for reason, unaided by spiritual illumination, to discover the truth in all its recondite forms.” But when it *is* presented, by whatever means or by whatever aid, it must, before it can be ranked and classified as truth, bring with it, in some form or other, its more or less sufficient demonstration or proof.

We proceed now to notice, in the briefest manner, two or three scattered statements in the article in the review, which we have already characterised as so extraordinary that they ought to be separately noticed, although forming no part of the general argument.

Having established [REVIEW, p. 231] and recognised it as “a fundamental article of belief, that the Bible is the inspired Word of GOD Himself;” that “in it we find the Rule of Faith;” that “it is the Bible, therefore, which we must receive, believe, obey,” he proceeds to announce that, in the course of his argument, “It is necessary to raise other questions *affecting the character and the credibility of this book.*” What! we say, raise questions affecting the character and credibility of the inspired Word of GOD Himself? And after we have ascertained and recognised it to be such? In such an argument we prefer to take no part. It has too much the air of impiety and sacrilege. Having received and recognised the Bible as the Divine and authoritative Word of GOD Himself, we shall endeavor to treat it with all due reverence and be thankful.

Again he declares, with no little obscurity of meaning, that “the truth”—that is, the Bible in all its fulness and completeness—“contains the essence of *Catholic*

Dogma, the Faith once delivered to the saints; . . . the Faith handed down to us, unimpaired in integrity and power, through the one Divinely constituted channel (the Church), whose identity has never been destroyed, whose Creeds have been preserved intact, and (mark the addition) *some of whose traditions are coeval with the Word itself.*" Now, what can a clergyman of the Church mean by such a statement as that? The Scriptures themselves distinctly tell us that "*In the beginning* was the Word, and the Word was with GOD, and the Word was GOD." And yet he dares to affirm that the Church has traditions which are coeval with the eternal Creator Himself! Again we ask, what can it mean, and what can be its purpose?

The difficulty would scarcely be helped by a suggestion that the term "Word" is there used to signify only the Scriptures, the written Bible; for upon that supposition the statement would be no less frivolous than it would be to record that there are traditions concerning Napoleon Bonaparte which were current before the many histories of his marvellous career were written. Or, to say that some of the traditions relating to the infancy of Dr. Johnson were "coeval with," if they did not antedate, the writing of his life by Boswell.

We come now to the last one of those statements which we have denominated as extraordinary with which we will detain the reader's attention. At p. 237, CHURCH REVIEW, for some reason or other which does not appear, he goes back to the reconsideration of a question which he had previously raised and answered, as to the means by which we have satisfied ourselves of the truth of the Bible. He says: "It is not an innate knowledge. The 'spiritual intuition' does not answer. There is no such thing as a special inspiration. The Divine Afflatus, breathed upon Prophets and Apostles to enable them to recall the past and to penetrate the future, is withheld from us. It is neither needful, *nor possible, to work a second miracle.*" Why not possible? Hath then God ceased to exist? Have His power and His majesty departed, and is not His throne established forever? If

it were his purpose to work a "second miracle," or a third, or a countless series of miracles, is He not able to carry out His will? But we forbear to notice any farther such wild and reckless statements; they serve only to excite surprise and suspicion.

We now proceed to a more general consideration of the reviewer's argument, if such it can properly be called.

The principal thought which has forced itself upon our attention whilst reading it is that its writer must have intended it, originally, as an unqualified commendation of the layman's book, a vindication of its claims to be a just and loyal defence of the principles of the Church, and a faithful exposure of certain false and contrary doctrines advocated by Bishop McLaren.

Apparently it has been made to assume a different rôle from that first intended, by force of some after-thought growing out of a conviction similar to that of the good Captain Cuttle—that "the discipline of the household must be maintained." In other words, that the dignity and apparent orthodoxy of the Episcopal character must be maintained; at least in form, so long as that sometimes difficult task may be possible.

The reviewer shows, with much clearness and consideration, that, as to all of the principal points involved and discussed, the book is in perfect harmony, as well with his own views as with those of the Church. He explicitly admits most of them, but adds, as if by way of rebuke, that it is not needful to waste time in proving them. If, however, the truths which they concern be indeed important, and the position of the Church which maintains and teaches them be misrepresented, and especially if other and false and dangerous doctrines are attempted to be substituted in their place, it certainly cannot be a waste of time to endeavor clearly to distinguish the one from the other; to set forth the Church's true position in a clearer light than before, if possible, and to point out the dangers and delusions to which unsuspecting and confiding seekers after truth may be exposed.

It is precisely this, as it seems to us, and nothing more, that the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt* has sought to do. Influenced, apparently, by a feeling similar to that which would impel a dutiful son to vindicate from aspersion and wrong the fair fame of a beloved mother, with like zeal and devotion to the Church, he has stood forth in her defence.

Recognising the powerful influence which is likely to accompany the formal teachings of the incumbent of a great metropolitan Diocese like that of Chicago, he has analysed to its last results the ecclesiastical theory of Bishop McLaren, as found in his volume entitled *Catholic Dogma the Antidote of Doubt*.

But, so far from his review being in any sense a "piece of special pleading" (though a "very clever" one, as is graciously admitted), it is quite the opposite. It is, rather, a complaint, a charge, a solemn accusation, grounded upon and proven by the very words and declarations of the Bishop himself, as he has deliberately published them to the world. The mere statement of the charge in this way becomes its own sufficient proof, as well as the instant condemnation of the Bishop's theory, when judged by any authoritative standard of Church doctrine.

His reviewer declares the "fundamental position" of the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt* to be this:

The idea of the infallibility of Holy Scripture. It is in the Bible that we are to find the Rule of Faith; it is from the Bible that we are to derive the doctrines and duties which are necessary to salvation; it is to the Bible that the Church points as to the free and open fountain of Divine truth, and the genuineness of which she guarantees by her seal and pledge; it is the Bible, therefore, we must receive, believe, obey, as the inspired word of God Himself. This, says the reviewer, is the belief of Bishop McLaren's critic. And immediately he adds the very satisfactory assurance: This is our own belief, and that of the Church of England, and of the Church in the United States, as attested by their Articles and formularies and Creeds.

Such is the accusation brought against the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt*.

Wherefore it appears that "the very head and front of his offending hath this extent—no more:" that his views are in perfect harmony with those of the Church, as attested by her Liturgy, her formularies, her Articles, and the Creeds; as well as with those of the reviewer himself.

Certainly this is, so far, a very gratifying state of affairs, and most creditable to the "Member of the New York Bar."

Here, however, it is to be especially noted that our reviewer does not presume, in the same unqualified manner, to affirm that this is also the belief of Bishop McLaren. Of him it is ventured to say, with much discretion, only, that it is *his* belief, "*in its proper theological sense*"—whatever that significant phrase may finally be held to mean. As to that, we shall see hereafter.

Proceeding farther to illustrate the perfect harmony which exists between the views of Bishop McLaren's critic, his own views, and those of the Church, he asks and considers another question, viz.:

What *is* the Bible, which our friend, the layman-author, declares to be the inspired Word of God Himself; the free and open fountain of Divine Faith? (and, satisfactorily for all, answers that the Bible is the history of God, in His threefold nature as the Creator, the providential Controller, and the Incarnate Saviour, in all His relations to mankind). Such a history, he says, had never before, and has never been written since. None but God Himself could write it. It bears the imprint of His finger, the sign and stamp and seal of heaven. And this, he adds, is the Catholic Dogma—this the faith which was once delivered to the Saints—this the Holy Scripture that containeth all things necessary to salvation.

Now, if we except the somewhat objectionable use of the term "Dogma" as descriptive of the Bible, all that we have just been considering may be regarded, so far as it goes, as a fair restatement or summary of the position maintained by Bishop McLaren's legal reviewer: *that the Bible is the sole Rule of Faith of the Church, and for all Christians, and that it contains all things necessary to salvation.*

And we maintain that his book is a continuous testimony to that fact. This position, it will be remembered, moreover, our clerical friend himself asserts, in the strongest terms, to be the principle of the Church also; as to the truth of which, of course, there can be no doubt.

Now, it is to be remarked that up to this time not a word has been adduced from Bishop McLaren's book, nor any statement whatever made of his views. And yet the question is asked, with surprising abruptness, at this point, "Is not this the doctrine taught, the principle illustrated, the hope cherished by Bishop McLaren in his *Catholic Dogma the Antidote of Doubt*? As if it were not manifest to the questioner, as it must be to every appreciative reader of that book, that not only the real but also the professed purpose of the Bishop must be held to be to establish the contrary.

It is the business of a reviewer, especially when he assumes to decide, or at least to assist in deciding, between conflicting opinions, to present both sides fairly, so as to enable his readers to determine for themselves as to the respective merits of each. Having done this, it is, of course, his privilege, and generally his duty, to illustrate, by such arguments as he may, the soundness of the one and the falsity of the other, according as his sense of the truth and the right may dictate.

It is precisely this, as it seems to us, that the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt* has done; and its average reader will be likely to get a clearer and more accurate idea of the theory and positions of Bishop McLaren than by anything short of, at least, a very careful perusal of the Bishop's own book.

But, as we have said, the reverend writer of the July article has given to his readers no information whatever as to the Bishop's views; and those who have not read either of the volumes in question of course have nothing before them on which to form an opinion. Having ourselves read both, we are prepared to answer the question, and to do so at once, by giving to it the most emphatic denial. At the same time we maintain, and will

endeavor to prove—albeit in sincere sorrow—that “the fundamental position” of the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt*, as above set forth and admitted, is not “the doctrine taught” or “the principle illustrated by Bishop McLaren,” but rather the reverse. We shall try to do this, and to answer at the same time those other questions which follow, viz. :

“Has he (Bishop McLaren) promulgated strange doctrine? Has he ignored the Protestant faith? Has he invalidated the authority of Revelation? Has he undermined the foundation of the Church? Has he given occasion for the weak to stumble, and the enemy to blaspheme?”

Now, if it had really been intended by Bishop McLaren, if it had been his real purpose, to avow that the *Catholic Dogma* which he desired to offer to the unbeliever, as an antidote for his doubts, was no other than the Christian Bible in all its fulness and completeness; we ask, if such in fact had been the case, is it possible to believe that the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt*, or any other Protestant Churchman, would have written in condemnation of the Bishop and his theory for that cause? Would *that* have engendered a feeling of “disappointment and amazement?” Would *that* have stirred up “indignation and resentment in the mind of a Protestant Episcopalian? Would *that* have induced a prominent Church paper to declare, soon after the Bishop’s book was published, that the theory set forth in it is “astounding,” and that “the objections to it are of the most various kinds?” Or would another leading Church paper, in a recent issue, have admitted as it did, that for maintaining his criticisms upon Bishop McLaren’s book the “Member of the New York Bar” had a fair case?

But let us go directly to the question: Has he (Bishop McLaren) promulgated strange doctrines? We answer, yes. For, whereas the Church declares emphatically that

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is

not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

Bishop McLaren, on the contrary, affirms [see *Catholic Dogma*, pp. 78-79] that the Church has knowledge of certain details of *essential* truth which are not to be found in the Bible, for the reason that they are not contained in the Bible. That the oral tradition of the Church is superior to the written Bible, which is only "subsidiary" to that tradition. That this same oral tradition is the only means by which the Scriptures can be verified, and the only criterion by which they are to be judged [*Ibid.*, p. 78].

And this we aver to be "strange doctrine," and in direct conflict with that of the Church; but, as the author of *Dogma No Antidote for Doubt* very justly remarks, it is "in strict accord with that of Rome." It makes the Bible to be, not what it seems to be and to mean, to the reason and intelligence of mankind, to whom it was given by the Creator, as the sure and abiding record of His revealed will; but only that which the Church—whatever that may be held to be—shall choose to interpret and declare it to mean.

It is true that, according to the theory of Bishop McLaren, as it is literally developed in his book, this does not, in strictness, lead directly or necessarily to the adoption of the Romish system. It leads, really, only as far as to utter darkness and ignorance, both intellectual and spiritual, and there stops. For the Bishop declares that the true and final statements of *Catholic Dogma* are only to be found in the expression of the "consciousness of the whole congregation of the faithful" [p. 109], and we have even his own authority for declaring that that is something which it is impossible ever to attain; and for the sound and quite sufficient reason which he himself also gives, viz.: that "it would be impracticable to secure a consensus of the faith of 'the true people of God,'" since "GOD only knows who they are, and has not revealed to us their names" [p. 111].

But the trouble is, that none of Bishop McLaren's

readers will be willing to remain in darkness and ignorance, where and because he has lead them into it; and will be very likely to follow on still farther after any light which may be held out to them, though it may prove in the end to be only some false and delusive beacon. They may still be inclined to rest their hopes upon *Catholic Dogma*, and charitably suppose that the only difficulty with Bishop McLaren is that, in attempting to guide them, he has lost his way, or mistaken the true place of the oracle sought for.

But in this dilemma they will be very sure to hear the siren voice of Rome directing to the accessible, ever-audible, ever-intelligible oracle of Papal Infallibility; whereupon the problem for them is immediately solved, and the search ended.

Another "strange doctrine" which the Bishop has promulgated, and which, as the "Member of the New York Bar" has vividly demonstrated, is not only inconsistent with himself, but is also in direct and literal conflict with the Bible, the Creeds, and with the general view of the Church, as expressed in countless ways, is that the personal CHRIST, who, on the authority of His own Divine and express declarations, is ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth until He shall come again at the last day, is, notwithstanding, really and in fact—so the Bishop insists—no more there [that is, in Heaven] than in any other place; but that "He is here as really and truly as He is there" [Ibid., p. 34]. Thus making one of the chief articles of the Creed to be an idle, useless, and meaningless expression.

And this view is not taught or urged by Bishop McLaren as a mere theological speculation, but is insisted on for a purpose and design of the gravest significance to the whole Church; as is clearly demonstrated by his legal critic.

Thus all of the questions propounded by his champion, as in the Bishop's defence, receive their positive affirmative answer. For in all this it must be clearly seen that Bishop McLaren has not only "promulgated strange doctrines," but he has also "ignored the Protestant

faith." It proves that he has done more even than that. It proves that he has *denied* the Protestant faith, and set up strange and novel doctrines in its place.

He has also "invalidated the authority of Revelation," because he has set up *another* authority, which he says is both more ample and also superior to the written Scriptures [Ibid., p. 78]; and, indeed, upon the verdict of this same tradition, the Bible is made dependent, even for its claims to be considered as the truth and to be thought worthy of belief [Ibid.].

For the same reasons he has also "undermined the foundations of the Church," which rest solely upon such truths as can be proved by the Bible only, and without the aid or the judicial determination of oral tradition.

For the same reasons, too, he has "given occasion for the weak to stumble, and for the enemy to blaspheme." For, when he undertook to guide them into the way of truth, "to solve their difficulties and to dismiss their fears," under promises of the most absolute assurance, he led them only into darkness, disappointment, and despair.

And not all the "ravings" of the Bishop's apologist can obscure the evidence or the significance of these facts.

With the help thus given, we trust that he will be able henceforth "to detect (at least some of) the precise passages that excite the disappointment, amazement, and indignation" of loyal Churchmen; that he will see, moreover, that the charges against the Bishop's theory have been proved, and the above questions answered, not by "disjointed passages," nor by any disregard either of "the context," or of "philological criticism," or of "ecclesiastical usage," but by the fair use of "words and phrases," giving to them their natural and usual meaning, and such as they must be held to have been intended to convey. And he "must forgive us for suggesting" that he should not "presume to censure and condemn" on the one side, or to defend or extol on the other, when, and merely for the reason that, he "has failed to detect" the meaning of passages and expressions that is plain to every ordinary intelligence; or because he has

not made himself "familiar with the question involved;" and that he ought long since to have learned that "sophistry and declamation" are neither "popular" nor profitable at the New York Bar, but rather, unhappily for the cause of religious truth, are, quite too often, to be found in the pulpits of the Church, and especially in the columns of a partisan Church press.

After this, our reviewer, as if oppressed with a consciousness that the only result of his attempts, so far, has been to establish, as we have seen, the orthodoxy of the "Member of the New York Bar," and the heresy of the Bishop of Chicago, he frankly admits that "it is necessary (for him) to go backward"—take a new departure, try again.

For this purpose certain facts are set forth for review as settled and established, and which may be briefly stated as follows: In progress of time, notwithstanding that dissensions arose and prevailed, notwithstanding that "heresies grew and persecutions raged," the Church preserved its identity and unity. "Hence the truth was never lost, because the Church (its witness and keeper) was never destroyed;" "it remained inviolate in the Books and the Creeds," which "were preserved as by a miracle, through fire and blood, without mutilation or decay."

It mattered not that the Church was enfeebled, and suffered reproaches and contempt by reason of its dissensions; nor that "the truth was encrusted by error, or trampled in the dust." It mattered not that, for ages, a mighty tide of heresy swept over the world, and threatened to wholly obliterate from recognition the very central idea, the most indispensable element of the Christian system—the Divine being and nature of CHRIST; nor that, by ever-unyielding schism, the visible Church had been rent, from one extremity to the other, into conflicting and hostile sections. It mattered not that "the sacred office was invaded by hirelings, and the sacrifices of the altar were offered with unholy hands;" for, at least, in form, "the true succession of the priesthood (so we are assured) was kept up, and

the due administration of the sacraments never lapsed," so that the Church has never been utterly destroyed, and God has never, at any time, been left without some witness somewhere, "in either the Jewish or the Christian Church." Nor will any Churchman or other Christian be disposed to deny what our reviewer further affirms, that the "vital elements of the Christian Faith," the "fundamental articles of the Christian Church, were preserved and maintained unaltered in their nature;" for in their nature they are absolutely and eternally unchangeable. Nor even that they were "undimmed in their lustre," although that lustre was too often unperceived amid the spiritual and intellectual darkness that prevailed, except by here and there a scattered few.

Nor will it be questioned that the vital elements of the Christian Faith were "undiminished in their power," for their power was none other than that of its Divine Author and Finisher; yet that power seemed to have lain long time, as if paralysed, amid the abounding corruptions of mankind; to but few was the arm of the LORD revealed, and but a despised remnant was left who did "seek after righteousness."

It is here, at this point, that we come to the most surprising thing of all. For our reviewer says: "It is in reference to these established principles and facts that the Vincentian Canon has been applied with so much propriety and force!" It is in reference to these established principles and facts, lamentable as is the picture of error and dissension which they present, and proving to every rational mind, if they have any force whatever, that the rule cannot possibly stand upon them, that we are asked to admit that Bishop McLaren has applied the Vincentian Canon with "much propriety and force!" It is not enough that we gladly accept the principles of Christianity as true, and amply proven by reasonable and legitimate means, but we must furthermore stultify ourselves by pretending to believe that such conviction has been brought about in our minds through the operation of a rule which we cannot help perceiving at

the same time to be of impossible application upon the facts stated, or indeed upon any similar facts.

For, the Vincentian rule requires that, in order to justify the adoption of any belief as our own, we must first know that such has been the belief of every one of the faithful in all ages and in all places. Whilst the facts are that such belief was, as to some of its most vital elements, formally denied and repudiated, for generations, by a vast majority of the visible Church throughout Christendom; and thus the Christian faith as taught by the Apostles, and now maintained by the Church, was held only by a small and persecuted minority.

It is more than high time that all this venerable cant about the Vincentian Canon should be recognised for the nonsense which it really is, and the Canon itself relegated where it belongs, to the limbo of exploded frauds and follies. We trust and believe that this book of our legal friend will do much to accomplish this desirable result, and to clear the theological atmosphere of one of its most noxious and blinding miasmata. As thus clearly demonstrated, it is easy to be seen by all who wish to see, that the rule in any and every point of view is impracticable and without result. No possible construction which can be given to it can render it of any use or value.

Let us endeavor in very few words to make this plain. The Rule, laid down by S. Vincent without qualification, is substantially this: that Christians are to believe that, and that only, which has been held everywhere, always, and by every one among the faithful. The only element of uncertainty about it, as thus formulated, is involved in the question as to who are "the faithful?" They must consist of at least one of two classes. They must consist either of those who are visibly, apparently faithful, as indicated by their admission to membership in the Church, or they must consist of those only who are not merely visibly and nominally accounted faithful, but who are also really and truly so in the sight of God. Now, if the rule be tested under the former definition (whether in its absolute signification, as including *all*,

according to the natural import of its terms ; or as including only *nearly all*, as allowed by the qualification assigned by S. Vincent himself—in either case), it is manifest beyond question that, if the Vincentian Canon is to be our guide, we cannot believe all the now accepted doctrines of the Christian Faith, by reason of the many errors and heresies which have prevailed in the Church from time to time ; notably the great Arian heresy, which for so long a period drew after it nearly all of the Bishops and Priests of that time throughout all Christendom. A condition of things utterly incompatible with any rule that is based upon universality and unanimity of belief.

If, again, the rule (whether, as before, taken absolutely, or with the qualification) be tested under the latter definition of the faithful, that is to say, those only who are really and truly such in the sight of God, then it is equally clear that it must fail ; for no man or mortal power can determine who are the accepted of God—His faithful people. Even as Bishop McLaren himself admits, “God only knows who they are, and has not revealed to us their names.”

And the same results follow, whether the term “faithful” be held to include all who have ever been in the Church from the beginning, or whether it be limited to the faithful of any given period.

There is positively no salvation for the so-called Vincentian Canon, upon any possible construction, or with the aid of any interpretation which can be given to it. It must therefore be absolutely and forever condemned and abandoned.

MOSES AMES.

TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

Edited, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by
the REV. ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, D.D., and
FRANCIS BROWN, New York. New York: Charles
Scribner's Sons. 1885.

A NEW and enlarged edition of this work is a sufficient proof of the great interest that the discovery of Bryennios has excited in the religious world. The edition before us is gotten up in excellent style by the publishers, and the Editors have endeavored to make it as complete as possible. A very full Introduction is prefixed by the junior Editor. In it are set forth the facts of the discovery of the manuscript. The question of the integrity of the text is discussed, and the references and allusions to this document, to be found in early Christian authors, are examined at length. The Editor also enumerates and discusses the various conjectures of scholars, before the time of Bryennios, in regard to what book was meant by the title of *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, which they found in ancient lists of Apocryphal books. *The Teaching* is also analysed in reference to its arrangement of matter, its purpose and scope, its doctrine, and the constitution of the Church as indicated in that document.

Appended to the *Didache* are numerous notes, a "digest of the *Didache* literature," and a copious index, the whole forming a very complete volume on this exceedingly interesting ancient document.

The translation in this new edition has been revised, and some inaccuracies of the previous hastily prepared

version have been corrected, though a few blemishes still remain. For example, πῶς μὴ, line 250, is given a telic sense. It denotes surprise, and should be rendered "surely the idle man shall not live," etc. Again, in line 277, χειροτονήσατε, in both editions, is translated "appoint," and in the notes "appoint" is said to be "the original sense." This is hardly correct; the first sense being, as its derivation shows, "a selection by a showing of hands." The meaning of "ordain" is justly repudiated at this early period of the Church's history, but even "appoint" conveys too strong an idea of authority. It would be better to render it "choose." The passage would thus be in accord with the choosing of the Seven Deacons, as recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles*. In line 310, ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος, "under even this curse," should be "under the curse itself." These and a few other such blemishes do not affect the general accuracy of the translation.

In the entire work there is exhibited a desire to be absolutely impartial, but occasionally, as perhaps could hardly be avoided, personal views and convictions unintentionally crop out. Thus in the note on lines 214 and 215, the Editor says of apostles and prophets, "They were apparently *only* evangelists or itinerant preachers." Leaving out the word "only," the observation is perfectly correct, but there is no justification for that word except what the Editor has learned, or thinks he has learned, from contemporaneous Church history. Again, in the note on line 269, it is truly said "there is no suggestion here of what is meant by the sacrifice of the mass;" if at least the Editor intends by that "a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead." But when the Editor goes on to quote Justin Martyr, that "prayers and thanksgivings, offered by the worthy are the only perfect and acceptable sacrifices," he is himself making a suggestion for which there is no more warrant in the text of the *Didache* than for the previous suggestion. The contrast, too, drawn by Justin Martyr, is not between an outward ceremony and inward prayers and thanksgivings; but between the sacrifices made by

the unworthy degenerate Jews and the worthy Christian. In the *Didache* the word "sacrifice" is unexplained, and can be used to support no theory. All the inference that can be drawn is that the word is so constantly used in connection with the Eucharist that it needed no explanation even for those new converts to whom the *Didache* was in the main addressed.

The criticism by the senior Editor of the word *Maranatha* is hardly warranted. The vowels in Syriac, as in Hebrew, are a late invention to preserve the traditional pronunciation. These Syriac vowels were first applied by Theophilus of Edessa, who died about A.D. 791. The traditional pronunciation appears not to have been uniform in the different portions of Syria. Among the Nestorians the vowel *a* frequently takes the place of *o* among the Maronites and Jacobites, and there are other slight differences of pronunciation. In the Nestorian text of 1 *Corinthians* xvi. 22 we read *Maran etha*; in the Jacobite text, *Moran etho*. These both are preterite in time, the present tense according to the Nestorian would be *Maran athe*. The Greek reading was perhaps intended to represent this last form. In the other Syriac words, retained in the Greek of the New Testament, such as *Talitha cumi*, and our SAVIOUR'S words on the cross, the Greek is much nearer the Nestorian vocalisation than the Jacobite. There is, then, hardly sufficient reason to deny the universal ancient interpretation of *Maran atha*, "Our LORD cometh,"

That part of the *Didache* which refers to the Eucharist has perhaps the most interest to Christians at the present day. It constitutes, indeed, a manual of prayer which might with advantage be still used during the administration of the Holy Communion, where time does not permit of longer devotions. This portion of the *Didache* has been taken by many to be the entire form of the Eucharistic Celebration. The senior Editor of the book under review says: "The simplicity of this whole Eucharistic service is in marked contrast with the elaborateness of the later Liturgies;" though the junior

Editor in the Introduction acknowledges that "the Eucharist itself is not described."

The whole passage is evidently no Eucharistic Celebration. The absence of the Canon, the words and actions of the original Institution of the Sacrament which JESUS Himself commanded to be observed when he said, "Do this in remembrance of Me," would at once confirm such a conclusion. We must remember also that the instruction is given not to the Clergy, but to the recent Gentile converts, who had nothing to do with the Eucharist except to receive it devoutly after repentance and confessing their transgressions.

The Eucharist was to be celebrated on each LORD'S Day in an assembly of Christians. Before coming together those at variance were to be reconciled. Before the breaking of bread and giving thanks they were to confess their transgressions. The giving of thanks is distributed into three parts, each concluding with a doxology; the first, "concerning the cup;" the second, "concerning the broken bread;" the third, "after ye are filled." Each baptised convert, when the cup has been blessed, is directed to say:

We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy Vine of David, Thy Servant, Which Thou hast made known to us through JESUS Thy Servant; to Thee be the glory for ever.

After the bread has been broken, each one is directed to say:

We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge Thou hast made known to us through JESUS Thy Servant; to Thee be the glory for ever.

Then follows a short ejaculation for the unity of the Church, closed again by a doxology. After having partaken of the Eucharist, a longer thanksgiving is prescribed, "for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us through JESUS Thy Servant." "To us Thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Servant." This thanksgiving likewise concludes with the same doxology.

The whole of this portion of the *Didache* is evidently nothing else than a Christian manual, to be used *during* the Eucharistic service, not the Eucharistic service itself.

The junior Editor says: "There is no well-defined doctrine of the Sacraments, but these are guarded by the exclusion of the unbaptised from the Eucharist." Such an assertion can be true only when there is a mental confusion of doctrine with philosophy. Of any *philosophy* of the Sacraments, how, when, and where, they accomplish the promised spiritual benefit, there is not the slightest token; but of the *doctrine* of the Sacraments, the assurance of the spiritual benefits, and the means by which they are attained, there is a well-defined statement.

The Church Catechism defines a Sacrament as an "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by CHRIST Himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof." In other answers the Catechism states the specific spiritual grace, and the specific means in each Sacrament. In this we have the whole *doctrine* of the Sacraments; all beyond, whether it concerns transubstantiation, or consubstantiation, or concomitance, or any other of the numerous theories of the Divine Presence in the Eucharist, is a question of philosophy, not of doctrine.

The passages of the *Didache* relating to the Eucharist clearly exhibit the fulness of sacramental doctrine in its proper sense. There is the outward sign, "the Cup," "the broken Bread." There is the inward spiritual grace, "the knowledge and faith and immortality;" "Thy Holy Name which Thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts;" "to us Thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink and eternal life." This Sacrament was also ordained by CHRIST. The convert is directed to thank God "for the holy Vine of David Thy servant, Which Thou hast made known to us through JESUS Thy Servant." The Eucharist was the means and instrument of this grace, for it is, "after they are filled" that

they are directed to give thanks for the spiritual benefits received.

All these doctrines are presented, not as mere exercises of the intellect, but are woven into the devotions of the faithful recipient of the Eucharist. Precepts are, however, given for the practical preparation for that holy Sacrament. "Whoever is holy, let him come; whoever is not, let him repent." "Let no one eat of your Eucharist, except those baptised into the name of the LORD."

The brief notices of the ministry which are found in the *Didache* seem also to have been widely misapprehended. The argument from omission has been pressed to its fullest extent. Omission is very far from being a denial. It must be remembered that this document is evidently a plain and simple instruction to the newly converted as to what they must do in private life and in the public service of the Church. Thus the junior Editor says, "It is designed to give them practical instruction in the Christian life." In this respect therefore it stands on precisely the same footing in the early Church as our Church Catechism at the present day. In the Church Catechism, a document of about the same length as the *Didache*, we find not the slightest mention of the three Orders of the ministry, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; but would any one argue, from such an omission, that the Church at the present time had no definite ministry, but only a vague class of instructors and rulers designated in the Catechism as "governors, teachers, spiritual pastors, and masters?" Yet when the Catechism was written the constitution of the ministry was a subject of violent controversy.

In a simple instruction for children or the newly converted, naturally only such things are introduced as are of practical importance. When there was no dispute as to the constitution of the ministry any special instruction in regard to its nature would, in the case of neophytes, be superfluous.

In three matters, however, of practical importance, touching the ministry, they do receive very plain direc-

tion. In the first place, since their spiritual pastors were in those days chosen by the people, they are directed, "Appoint for yourselves Bishops and Deacons worthy of the LORD, men meek and not avaricious, and upright and proved." In the second place, they were to respect and esteem their ministers,

For they render you the service of the prophets and teachers. Therefore neglect them not ; for they are the ones who are honored of you, together with (rather *among*—μετά, not σὺν) the prophets and teachers.

Among all the prophets and teachers, those whom they have chosen to be over themselves are especially to be honored by them. Those also who came from abroad, in whose appointment they had had no hand, were likewise to be held in honor. "Every Apostle that cometh to you, let him be received as the LORD." In the third place, they were to support their chosen pastors.

Every true prophet who will settle among you is worthy of his support. Every first fruit, then, of the products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets ; for they are your high-priests (or chief-priests). Likewise a true teacher, he also is worthy, like the workman, of his support. . . . When thou openest a jar of wine or oil, take the first of it, and give to the Prophets ; and of money and clothing and every possession take the first, as may seem right to thee, and give according to the commandment.

Although there is no direct teaching in the *Didache* as to the constitution of the ministry, several characteristics are very clearly assumed. In the first place, the ministry was a permanent office, not a mere temporary presidency in the congregation. The Apostles and Prophets who went from place to place were to be received everywhere as Prophets, and held in honor "as the LORD." In the second place, the ministry was more than a permanent office filled by one of the people. It constituted an order distinct from the people. The Clergy were to have special qualifications. They were chosen and set apart for a special work which occupied their whole attention. They were sup-

ported not by the labor of their own hands, but by specifically appointed offerings from the people. In the third place, the *Didache* testifies very clearly against a parity in the ministry. There were two classes of ministers resident in the congregation, "Bishops and Deacons." The latter were not laymen, nor mere stewards of the temporalities of the Church. Both classes were required to have the same qualifications. They are spoken of together as rendering "the service of Prophets and teachers." The Bishops, as "Prophets," exercised spiritual authority; the Deacons, while taking their appropriate part in "the service," occupied the more humble position of "teachers." Fourthly, the Apostles constituted another distinct class of the ministry. What were their peculiar functions we have no means of learning from the *Didache*. All that we are told is that they went from place to place, and were not to tarry longer than one, or at the most two days, in each place. They were to receive food and lodging, and to take away with them "nothing but bread enough" to last until they reached their next lodging.

The Apostles and Prophets were evidently not identical. A "true Prophet" might settle among the people permanently and claim support from them, but an Apostle could not stay more than two days. In regard to Prophets there is one very peculiar expression in the *Didache*. It is translated by the Editors, "Every Prophet, proved, true, acting with a view to the mystery of the Church on earth, but not teaching to do all that he himself doeth, shall not be judged among you; for with God he has his judgment; for so did the ancient Prophets also." It is a difficult passage, and the Editors' notes do not throw much light upon it. The translation runs, "The mystery of the Church on earth," and in the note it is explained, "The service of the Church, which is a mystery," a meaning which the Greek will hardly bear. There is no article before "mystery," and the adjective *κοσμικόν* agrees with "mystery," not with "the Church." Making these changes and retaining the rather awkward translation of *ποιῶν εἰς*, the passage

reads, "Acting with a view to an earthly mystery of the Church." The verb ποιεῖν is constantly used in both classic and ecclesiastical Greek of celebrating a festival, or conducting religious mysteries, and especially for offering sacrifices. The word "mystery" is in Greek the exact equivalent of the Latin *sacramentum*, not, however, always in its limited sense, but of any sacramental rite. The "earthly mystery" would be in contradistinction to the "heavenly mystery," with perhaps an allusion to our LORD'S words to Nicodemus [*S. John* iii. 12]. The latter part of the sentence is explained by the Editor as referring to ascetic practices. This is pure conjecture, since there is absolutely nothing in the text to lead to it. It seems almost necessary to take the three words, ποιῶν, ποιεῖν, and ποιῇ (being in such close connection), in the same sense. "Not teaching to do all that he himself doeth," would then refer to the divulging of the sacred mysteries, against which there were stringent regulations in the Church as early as the time of Tertullian. "For so did the ancient Prophets," would, from the context, seem to refer rather to their fearless speaking of the truth at the bidding of GOD, and their relinquishing of visible means of support, and dependence upon the voluntary offerings of the devout people of GOD.

The "Prophets" would thus seem to have been the "stewards of the mysteries of GOD." The writer of the *Didache* apparently had this very passage of S. Paul in his mind, for he goes on to say, the Prophet "shall not be judged among you, for with GOD he hath his judgment," words very similar to those of the Apostle. The Prophets are here represented as exercising the priestly office, and in another place they are directly called "your high-priests," or "chief-priests." The "Bishops" also exercised the same office, for it is said, "They, too, render you the service (or liturgy) of the Prophets." The former were limited to a single congregation, while the latter had a recognised authority everywhere in the Church, though, if they saw fit, they could settle over a single congregation. The "Apostles," on the other

hand, were prohibited from thus settling down in one place.

The *genuineness* of the *Didache* is beyond reasonable doubt. Its simple moral and doctrinal teaching, and its picture of Church practice and discipline are all so natural and so true to what we know of the state of the Church at the beginning of the II. century as to preclude the idea of forgery.

The *date* of this document is, with good reason, assigned to a period not later than the middle of the II. century. The Editors, however, seem to have been carried away by their enthusiasm when contending for so early a date as 100 A.D. Perhaps the judgment of Bryennios himself was not far from right, who placed it between 140 and 160 A.D. The principal argument for the earlier date, by the junior Editor of the volume under review, is derived from its connection with the Epistle of S. Barnabas. He maintains

it is a presumptive argument for the priority of the teaching to Barnabas, that the former is briefer, more uniform in style, more orderly in arrangement, more sober in its requirements.

He justly asserts that "these are all marks of originality not to be overcome except by strong counter-arguments." Hence he concludes that the *Didache* must have been written long enough before the time of the Epistle of S. Barnabas for its author to have become acquainted with, and to make use of, the *Didache*.

The Editor, however, entirely overlooks or ignores the theory of so distinguished a scholar as Bishop Lightfoot, that the matter common to these two documents is original with neither, but drawn from a previously existing common source, to which the *Didache* adhered more closely than S. Barnabas. The Bishop concludes that "neither author plagiarises from the other." When we farther take into account that the parallel passages of S. Barnabas (with the exception of the first quoted by the Editor) are all contained in the four last chapters of that epistle, the whole force of the argument is removed, even from the Editor's point of

view. Those four chapters have long been suspected by critics of forming no part of the original epistle. There is quite a difference in language and thought. Hefele also testifies that those chapters did not exist in the ancient Latin version, though on other grounds he attributes them to S. Barnabas. They bear all the marks of being a later addition to the Epistle, and are so disconnected with what precedes as to receive a separate title, "Part Second of the Epistle. Concerning the Two Ways." The two parts are awkwardly joined by the introductory sentence, "Let us proceed now to a second inquiry and instruction." The argument drawn from the supposed use of the *Didache* by the author of the epistle attributed to S. Barnabas failing to be sustained, there is nothing to carry the *Didache* to a date earlier than 150 A.D.

What *authority* are we to attribute to this document in determining matters of Christian practice and doctrine? It is, in connection with other early Christian writings, a witness of much importance, but only as a witness. It was uniformly placed, by all the early writers who name it, in the list of apocryphal books, those which might be read in the churches for moral instruction and guidance, but had no authority to decide matters of doctrine or practice. As such a witness it presents to us a picture of many important details in the morality, the devotion, and the religious life of the Christian in the times immediately subsequent to the last of the twelve Apostles. We consider this document to be of so much value that we rejoice to see a new and enlarged edition put forth. We are convinced that the more the Christian community of the present day studies the really primitive documents, the more will they be imbued with the true spirit of primitive Christianity.

WM. W. OLSSEN.

PROGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH.

Tiryns. The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns. The results of the latest excavations by DR. HENRY SCHLIEMANN, with preface by PROFESSOR F. ADLER, and contributions by DR. WILLIAM DÖRPFELD. 188 woodcuts, 24 plates in chromolithography, map, and 4 plans. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

THERE is a natural craving of the human mind for accurate knowledge of its own development, which extends its inquiries far backward into the past, to learn what it has been, and well onward into the future, to penetrate the veil of mist which envelops the fate which is yet in store for it.

In times past the latter phase has been manifested in various forms; among the less legitimate, in the science of Astrology and Divination, which has had its devotees and wise men in abundance. Doubtless, to many minds, that form in which the opposite phase chiefly manifests itself, the *growing* science of Archæology, deserves no higher classification; by many its researches will be regarded as equally futile with observations of the stars to determine the future, and its conclusions as based upon no more rational foundations; wise *guesses* at the truth being the most substantial element in each. Unquestionably, the enthusiasm of many devotees of this science leads them into extravagances of conclusion not warranted by the degree of importance and positiveness in their discoveries. Yet, *without* the enthusiasm which is responsible for the extravagances, the labor of developing these discoveries would scarcely be undertaken; and

sober-minded men will find no difficulty in separating what is irrational from that which, with one consent, they will recognise as truly valuable in establishing the facts of prehistoric civilisation.

The term Archæology has undergone an important development in comprehension in later years. It is only within the near past that the word has been applied to anything *beyond* the range of antiquarian research among the classic ruins of Greek and Roman Art. Although the derivation of the word would suggest a much wider field of application, yet common usage sanctioned its restriction to these comparatively narrow limits, until the advance of scientific investigation, and more especially the discoveries of modern geological research, pointed out the fact that Mother Earth holds within her bosom substantial "remains" of ages and peoples quite as important, in determining the different phases of prehistoric civilisation, as those which pertain solely to the classic myths and legends of Greece and Rome, or the ancient culture of Babylon and Egypt.

The "stone age" of the older archæologists has been pushed back into a remote antiquity, not so much as dreamed of by them in their most irrational moments, and a new and undeveloped chapter opened up in archæological study.

This term is still restricted, however, in its application to the study of prehistoric man from the remains of *his own handiwork*; but this field is constantly spreading out its borders, and, as its expansion progresses, that which once furnished the full comprehension of the term assumes more and more the aspect of a subdivision of a larger and a broader science.

Classical antiquities, nevertheless, still hold a high rank of honor in a branch of study which is yearly growing in importance and interest in the minds of thoughtful men. To this branch of Archæological research we must chiefly confine our present observations. The broader field, as it spreads out before us at the present day, offers much tempting material, in its revelations of the development of civilisation through the ad-

vancing stages of the, so-called, old and new stone, the bronze and iron ages down to the days of written history; but the demands of space compel us to refrain from more than a passing note, here and there, outside the range of what we may call *Classical Archæology*.

By this title we understand the study of those "remains" in the different departments of Architecture, Sculpture, Pottery, and implements of peace and war, which throw light upon those phases of human life and progress depicted in the great epics of Greece and Rome.

The beginning of modern Archæological research in this direction may be placed in the latter part of the XVIII century, when a French artist sketched the sculptures of the Parthenon, and providentially preserved for after-generations an accurate, though a crude, representation of those valuable relics of ancient Athens, which so soon after perished in the bombardment of the city by the Venetians.

From that date forward researches have been prosecuted with varying degrees of energy and activity, and numerous works on Classic Art have been published, from time to time, by German, French, and English explorers.

The discovery of Herculaneum in 1720, and of Pompeii in 1748, marked an epoch in archæological study. The purely antiquarian spirit gave place to the more scientific methods, which formulate the various discoveries into a connected history of the past.

The real founder of this method of treating relics—Winckelmann—gave a new impulse to this branch of investigation; yet his labors, as well as those of his immediate disciples in Germany, were chiefly theoretical.

But while these Germans were inventing theories and writing books thereon, the more practical English mind saw the necessity of gathering more substantial materials upon which to construct them. In 1751, two Englishmen, Revett and Stuart, went to Athens and spent the greater part of three years in exploring its ruins, and sketching the remains of Art which were brought to light. Much valuable material was thus secured, and the

results of their labors were presented to the public in a work entitled *The Antiquities of Athens*, the first volume of which appeared in 1762, but the fourth more than 50 years later (1816).

Each succeeding decade of the present century has been marked by the publication of valuable additions to archæological literature. These books are concerned chiefly with works of Art pertaining to a purely historic period, Grecian sculptures forming a predominant feature in their illustrations.

The last twenty years, however, have been specially marked in the rapid strides these researches have made, not alone on Grecian ground, but as well in Egypt and Babylonia, in Palestine and Rome and England.

In the latter—chiefly through accident, however—numerous interesting relics of the Roman occupation have been brought to light. At Rome the residence of an uncle of Julian the Apostate has been uncovered, and interesting information of that period obtained. The great Hall of the Vestal Virgins has been excavated, and a collection of Anglo-Saxon coins recovered, which comprises nearly a thousand pieces bearing the stamps of Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, and other ancient monarchs of the British Isles.

In Palestine, the sites of most of the places of importance in Bible history have been located with more or less certainty, and in connection therewith information collected which will prove of vast service in elucidating the sacred narrative.

But of much greater importance are the results of recent researches in Egypt and Babylonia. In Babylon, Rassam has recovered records which cover a long period of its history prior to the capture of the city by Cyrus. The sites of two cities of much earlier date than Babylon have been located and the ruins explored; one of those, Sippara, the city of the Sun-god, is believed to have been founded before the flood, and to be identical with one of the cities of Sepharvaim, mentioned in 2 Kings. Here, in the ruins of the great temple, was found a votive tablet, commemorating a great victory of

one of the kings of Babylon, the date of which is not later than 850 B.C. A terra cotta cylinder is inscribed with a record of the battles of King Nabonidus, and the repairing of this same temple of the Sun-god by Naramsin, son of Sargon, the date of which it gives as 3750 B.C.

Numerous other relics of extreme antiquity, which throw light upon the prehistoric days of Babylonia, must be passed by here; nor can we more than allude to the especially valuable discoveries made in Egypt during the past five or six years.

The most recent of these, the discovery of the great store-city of Pithom, has but recently been presented to the readers of the REVIEW in a special article. Other important facts have been brought to light by the "Egypt Exploration Fund."

The work of General Cesnola in Cyprus, the relics of his excavations now on exhibition in the City of New York, as well as the bitter controversy waged over them in recent days, are doubtless so familiar to readers of the REVIEW that they will require no further mention here.

Since 1875, the German Government has been carrying on excavations in Greece, chiefly at Olympia and Pergamon.

In the former place the discoveries are of special interest as throwing light upon the famous Olympian Games. The entire sacred grove was laid bare, revealing, among other interesting relics, the ruins of the buildings connected with the games, and the great Temple of Zeus, said to have been more imposing than the famous Parthenon. The colossal sculptures of the pediments of this magnificent pile were all recovered, some in a fair state of preservation. These are said to be the finest specimens of their class yet recovered from the ruins of ancient Greece. The round temple, built by Philip of Macedon, was also uncovered and found to be fairly well preserved. The grand gymnasium, most magnificent building of Olympia, was explored, and hundreds of inscriptions recovered, many of them referring to the Olympian Games.

At Pergamon one of the finest and best preserved pieces recovered was the frieze of heroic sculpture from the great altar, representing the battle of the gods and the giants. This piece was executed not later than 200 B.C.

The part America has taken in these explorations must not be passed by without notice.

Important results were obtained by the excavations carried on for two years at Assos by the Archæological Institute of America. The ancient bridge, which was uncovered here, is said to be the only example known of a Greek bridge. These immense walls, which in some parts are nearly perfect to their original height of 60 feet, date back to the IV century B.C., while many of the tombs opened are as old as the VII. Another noteworthy feature of this exhumed City is believed to be the only specimen of a four-story structure yet discovered.

Another party of Americans, known as the "Wolf Expedition," was sent out from New York about two years ago, for the purpose of exploring some of the Babylonian ruins.

The "Egypt Exploration Fund" has also received valuable assistance in American money in prosecuting its labors at Pithom and Zoan. This was accomplished through the efforts of the Rev. Mr. Winslow, of Boston, who gave an account of the work at Pithom in the July (1885) number of the *REVIEW*.

Even upon our own soil Archæological research has not been wanting. The shell heaps of the coast of Maine, and the ancient mounds of many of the Southern and Western States, have yielded up treasures which are considered important as determining to some extent the character of prehistoric civilisation on this Western continent.

These are but notes here and there of the activity and progress of Archæological research in the immediate past. No attempt has been made to present even a full synopsis of the labors undertaken, much less of their results; but enough has been said to indicate the grow-

ing interest in these investigations and the increasing importance of the results, as excavations are extended beyond the limits of historic deposits.

To lovers of Homer, however, none of the explorations mentioned will equal in interest those carried on during the past fifteen years by Dr. Henry Schliemann, whose latest publication is noted as a heading to this article. With most disinterested zeal this man has been spending a large fortune, accumulated during a successful business career in St. Petersburg, in adding to our knowledge of prehistoric Greece. His wonderful acquisition of languages was largely the work of leisure hours while in active business life. The study of Greek he began as late as his thirty-fourth year, mastering the modern tongue, it is said, in less than two months. A few more months sufficed to enable him to read classical authors with facility, when the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* became his favorite study. By these he was filled with that enthusiasm which has characterised his recent work in the archæological field.

His first publication (1869) was an account of travels during which he explored the traditional sites of many of the places mentioned by Homer, and believed he had located the home of Ulysses in Ithaca.

The common belief of modern scholars that the narratives of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are pure fables, gathered up by the author from popular tradition, he had never accepted, and he now determined to make it the labor of his advanced years (he is now in his sixty-fourth year) to establish the general historical accuracy of the descriptions and localities found in the works of Homer, to rescue his two grand epics from the realm of romantic fiction, and find for them a resting-place under the auspices of the Historic Muse.

To this end he returned, in 1871, to the Troad, where, during his former explorations, he had located the site of ancient Troy on the plateau of Hissarlik. On this site he labored until 1873, making extensive excavations, the results of which he published in German in 1874, and of which an English version, edited by Dr. Philip

Smith, was published in London (1875) under the title *Troy and its Remains*.

The boldness with which Dr. Schliemann put forth his conclusions in this work brought down upon his head a storm of ridicule and criticism from Homeric critics and scholars; indeed, such a radical departure from accepted views, and such a ruthless overturning of pet theories—based, it must be confessed, upon extremely meagre foundations—could have been expected to do no less; and later investigations convinced our author himself that he had been, in some instances, much too rash and hasty in his assertions. More reserve, perhaps, in the statement of conclusions in this first publication, would have inclined scholars of different opinion to give his theories more serious and patient consideration. The effect of this book upon the minds of scholars in general was to convince them, not that he had laid bare the homes of ancient Troy, but that he had stumbled upon some forgotten village, possibly of the Phœnicians, upon whose crumbled ruins the modern Ilium had been built.

Excavations here were carried to a depth of 50 feet, uncovering the natural bed-rock. The plan adopted was that of ordinary coal-mining, with shafts and lateral galleries. Dr. Schliemann believed that he could identify the ruins of seven distinct cities built one above another. In the seventh, or upper one, he recognised, from coins and inscriptions, the *historical* Ilium; and in the third the Troy of Homer. Here he found the palace of King Priam, the Scæan Gate and the walls of Neptune and Apollo. From the palace was obtained a large collection of vases and royal ornaments of gold and silver. Later excavations, the results of which he published in the works *Ilios* and *Troja*, led him to modify somewhat the conclusions put forth in *Troy and its Remains*, though he was *confirmed* in his opinion that he had discovered the genuine ruins of the city of Homer. Closer investigation showed that the massive walls to which he assigned this honor were part of the second instead of the third city, the latter having been built up *within* the former, the old walls having been

left as they were found. This, of course, led to some confusion as to what belonged to the second and what to the third. In the other cases the old ruins had been levelled before the new city was begun.

One feature of these discoveries produced a decided impression upon archæologists, and seemed at first to be in direct opposition to the generally received "doctrine" that civilisation may be traced, in all places which have been the abode of man from prehistoric times, through the distinct stages represented by the stone, the bronze, and the iron ages. In this respect, Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlik laid bare a riddle for their solution.

Near the surface of these accumulated ruins of unknown ages, the "remains" exhumed were evidently the product of a civilisation belonging to a purely *historic* period of antiquity. At a depth of a little more than two yards, implements and pottery possessing the characteristics of the bronze stage of development began to appear. A depth of five yards brought to light (as would naturally have been expected if this law holds good) distinct evidences of a settlement belonging to the neolithic or later stone age—axes, hammers, and other implements of polished stone and lava, knives and saws of flint, and unadorned pottery of rude manufacture; but *nothing* to indicate that the inhabitants possessed any knowledge of metal-working. Up to this point all was "as it should be." But when this distance had been doubled the developments were of a most unexpected character. The excavators found themselves in the midst of an advanced civilisation, which could, by no possibility, be assigned to an *earlier* stage than that through which they had just passed. The finely wrought implements and weapons of bronze, and the superior quality and finish of the pottery lying here *beneath* the "remains" of a people who had reached no higher development in the arts than the manufacture of rude implements of stone, belonged unquestionably to a state of civilisation ages in *advance* of its *successor*.

It is not impossible, however, to explain this rather

unusual phenomenon without doing violence to the general law already stated; such explanation will be evident when we consider that it is not an unheard-of thing, even in historic times, to find a civilised people succumbing to the inroads of a barbarous horde, and the marks of their culture giving place to the ruder arts of their savage conquerors. But when we recede beyond the limits of written history and consider the space of time which may have elapsed between the destruction of one of these cities and the building of its successor, we need not introduce even the element of conquest. The desolated site of an advanced civilisation, which had yielded to the strange vicissitudes of generations, may have offered a tempting resting-place to some wandering tribe of Eastern barbarians, and humanity begun, as it were, anew its struggle upward upon the scene of its former greatness.

The next important work of Dr. Schliemann was the excavation of Mycenæ, in the plain of Argos, which he completed in 1876. Here he uncovered the citadel of Agamemnon, and explored the treasury of Atreus, commonly called the Tomb of Agamemnon by the natives of the present day. He also discovered several other tombs; in one of which were a number of bodies, one of them remarkable for its covering of large leaves of gold. Near the well-known "Gate of the Lions" he also unearthed another treasury, from which were taken many interesting relics. The results of these excavations, which were published in the book *Mycenæ* [1878], are chiefly valuable as confirming the Homeric account of the characteristics and culture of the Argives. More extended notice of them must be omitted here.

In 1878 and 1879 Ithaca was more thoroughly explored, and further excavations made at Troy, the results of which appear in the work *Ilios* [1880].

Next followed an investigation of the treasure house of Orchomenos, and a journey of general observation through the Troad, an account of which appeared in a *Journey in the Troad and Orchomenos* [1881].

Early in 1882 this indefatigable man renewed his re-

searches on the site of Troy, and in his third book (*Troja*, 1884) on this fascinating theme corrected what he considered the errors of imperfect observation and too hasty judgment put forth in the two earlier books, *Troy* and *Ilios*.

In estimating the labors of Dr. Schliemann between 1871 and 1884, it must be remembered that, in addition to the time spent in the actual work of travel and excavation, he wrote and superintended the publication of most of these books in French and German as well as English.

The discoveries at Troy and Mycenæ had now so shaken his faith in the *accepted traditions* of the "remains" of ancient Greece, and so firmly established his confidence in his own novel theories, that he could not rest idle while a single one remained untested.

For some time he had been looking with suspicious eye upon the Tumulus of Marathon and the tradition connected therewith. All authorities admit that the accepted story of the burial, *on the field of battle*, of the 192 Athenian heroes who sacrificed their lives in giving to Miltiades his celebrated victory over the Persians at Marathon, was a remarkable *exception* to the established Attic custom; yet this tumulus is commonly believed to have been erected over their bodies, as a monument to their disinterested patriotism and the generalship of Miltiades.

In February, 1884, Dr. Schliemann proceeded to demolish this theory, by diving into the very midst of this so-called house of the dead and bringing to the light of day the hidden secrets of its innermost recesses. None of the relics common to the ancient tombs of Greece were discovered therein, although excavations were pushed to a depth below the level of the surrounding plain and finally stopped by reaching water. The relics recovered indicated that the building of the mound was of more ancient date than the battle of Marathon [490 B.C..] The fragments of pottery were of the same character as those assigned to the VIII. or IX century B.C., and the implements and weapons pointed even to an

earlier date. If Dr. Schliemann's inferences are correct, this tumulus had been standing for several centuries when Miltiades conquered the Persians on the neighboring plain. But whether of earlier date than the battle of Marathon or not, the absence of all the usual contents of a tomb would seem to indicate that it was not the *burial place* of the 192 heroes, though it may have been a *cenotaph* erected to their memory. This certainly would be more in conformity with Attic custom than the received tradition, to hold which we are obliged to account for a total departure from their rule.

Immediately after completing the excavations at the Tumulus of Marathon, Dr. Schliemann began preparations for carrying out a design, which he had entertained for a long time, of examining, more thoroughly than had yet been done, the ruins of the ancient city of Tiryns, in the plain of Argos.

Beginning on March 15, 1884, work here was continued until the heat of summer drove them from the field. Operations were again resumed in May, 1885, and continued for two months. In this work Dr. Schliemann was assisted by Dr. William Dörpfeld, of the German Archæological Institute at Athens, whose name has been lately prominent in connection with the excavations at Olympia.

The results of these extensive excavations have recently appeared before the American public in the work *Tiryns*, issued by the publishing house of Charles Scribner's Sons. This volume is a perfect specimen of the book-maker's art, beautifully printed upon the best of paper, superbly illustrated with woodcuts, plans, and colored plates, and richly bound.

The literary plan of the book is, to say the least, unfortunate, though, doubtless, unavoidable. As first written it did not include the results of the work of the present year; but, when nearly ready for publication, it was found that these results so modified, and in some instances totally changed the conclusions of the previous year, that it would be advisable to delay the issue of the work, and insert a supplemental chapter,

leaving the original composition unchanged. This, of course, leads to contradictions and confusion. After having studied the body of the work, with its maps and plans, one enters upon Chapter VI. and at once discovers that new plans must be mastered, and much that he has already learned cast aside as erroneous. The Preface of the book comes from the pen of Professor F. Adler, of Berlin. It is a learned discussion of the bearings of the discoveries at Troy, Mycenæ, Orchomenos, and Tiryns, upon the subject of ancient architecture, and will well repay a careful perusal. In the first chapter Dr. Schliemann discloses the nature of his labors and his method of conducting them; and the second gives an outline of the history of the plain of Argos, with the myths and legends particularly relating to Tiryns. In the third and fourth he describes and illustrates with numerous engravings the various objects of interest, principally pottery, idols, and stone implements, brought to light during the progress of the excavations. He then resigns the pen to Dr. Dörpfeld, who proceeds to develop, in Chapter V., what will generally be considered the most important results of the work, viz., the plan and construction of the palace in all its details. Chapter VI., written also by Dr. Dörpfeld, contains the supplemental material brought to light during the excavations of the present year. It unfortunately gives evidence of great haste in preparation; but this will be readily excused when it is perceived how important it was that the book should not be issued without a record of this later work.

Tiryns, now called Paleocastron, is remarkable as being one of the oldest, and by far the best preserved, of the fortified cities of prehistoric Greece. We find many of its kings prominent in the great epics of Homer. Connected with its traditional history are the names of Proitos, under whom it was fortified; Megapenthes, Perseus, Hercules, upon whom Eurystheus imposed the twelve labors, and the succeeding Heracleidæ. Tradition says that its first name was Haleis, so called from the fishermen who first built their huts upon its rocks.

Its ruins are universally referred to as the oldest specimens of Greek architecture in existence. More properly, perhaps, they may be styled the most ancient specimens of *architecture* now visible in Greece; for *Greek* architecture proper may be considered as having its origin in the later city of Mycenæ, whose walls are modelled after those of Tiryns, but exhibit some advance in architectural ideas.

This species of wall is usually designated by the appellation "Cyclopean," from a tradition existing among the later Greeks that they were built by the Cyclops of mythology, a race of giants belonging to Lycia. This tradition undoubtedly arose from the immense size and weight of the blocks of limestone of which they are built, no lesser race than the fabled Cyclops being considered equal to the task of placing these immense stones in their lofty position. Pausanias, who is the great source of information on the early traditions of Argos, compares them with the famous pyramids of Egypt for their colossal proportions and massive structure.

The term "Cyclopean" continues to be applied to this species of ancient masonry, but the theory as to the builders has changed somewhat. That which generally obtains at the present day is, that they were constructed by the so-called Pelasgians, a race of people who occupied the Argolic plain previous to the ancient Hellenes.

Professor Heeren finds that these "Pelasgi" came from Asia Minor or Syria, and settled in the Peloponnesus, under the leadership of Inachos, about the year 1800 B.C.; that they were the founders of the ancient State of Argos and the builders of the walls of Tiryns; that, after an occupation of about 300 years, they were driven from the Argolic plain by the Hellenes, who adopted their general style of architecture, but with many improvements, as witness the walls of Mycenæ.

Mr. Gladstone, in his preface to Dr. Schliemann's book *Mycenæ*, objects to both these appellations for this species of masonry:

The first (Cyclopean), because it does not inform ; the second (Pelagic), because it misleads, for these buildings have no true connection with the Pelasgian tribes.

What they indicate is the handiwork of the great constructing race or races, made up of several elements, who migrated into Greece and elsewhere on the Mediterranean, from the South and East, and who exhibit an usual, though perhaps not an invariable, connection with the Poseidon-worship ; a worship with which the Cyclopean name is, through the *Odyssey*, perceptibly associated, and which is one of the main keys, as I have long been persuaded, wherewith in time to unlock, for Hellenic and Homeric regions, the secrets of antiquity.

He also suggests as a name for these walls, "until a better can be found," the appellation "Poseidonian."

Dr. Schliemann takes up this connection between the Cyclops of the *Odyssey* and Poseidon (Polyphemus was the son of Poseidon), and traces the building of the walls of Tiryns to the Phœnicians, supporting this theory by the many traces of Phœnician influence in that part of Greece, in names evidently of Semitic origin, in the identity of Hercules, born at Tiryns, with the Phœnician god, Melkarth, in the similarity between the walls themselves and those found in Ithaca, Crete, and other localities where Phœnician settlements are known to have existed, and in the Phœnician origin of many Greek words.

From all of which he concludes :

We may therefore assume, with great probability, that the gigantic walls of Tiryns were built by Phœnician colonists ; and the same is probably the case with the great prehistoric walls in many other parts of Greece.

In regard to which it may be remarked that, however sure we may be that there was close intercourse between the Phœnicians and the ancient inhabitants of the Argolic plain, however much their influence may appear in Greek nomenclature, religion or mythology (a fact which few would question), yet we must remember that there were inhabitants of another race in Argos before it was visited by Phœnicians, as Dr. Schliemann himself states elsewhere :

We find incontrovertible evidence of this Pelasgic settlement in the names Argos and Larissa, which are Pelasgic. . . . and again in the myth of the old Pelasgic moon- and cow-goddess Io, daughter of Inachos.

Now, it does not appear how the clearest evidence of Phœnician influence, intercourse, or even settlement in prehistoric times, unless the very *earliest*, should also *prove* that these walls were not already built when the Phœnicians first set foot in Argos; for it is clear that there were people there before them who were capable of such building.

If any traces of distinctively *Phœnician workmanship* existed *in the walls themselves*, the case would be different; but such traces Dr. Schliemann will have pointed out scarcely to the satisfaction of archæologists who hold an opposite theory. The mere resemblance, in general structure, to other walls in places where Phœnician colonies are known to have existed does not assist the argument, unless it can be proved that these others were actually of Phœnician workmanship; but is it not as difficult to prove this in one case as in the other? If the so-called Pelasgians were driven out of Argos by the Hellenes, and scattered themselves in other parts of Greece and throughout the neighboring islands, as tradition states, why may they not have continued, on the island of Crete or at Ithaca, while the Phœnicians were strangers there as well as in Argos, the building of such walls as they had left behind them in their former home? Without the aid of an exact comparative chronology we are very much "at sea" in attempting to adduce *proof*.

The only point in the argument here which appears to bear with any force *upon the question at issue*, is the conclusion recently put forth by certain archæologists, that the lower walls of the temple of Baalbeck, formed like the walls of Tiryns, of gigantic blocks of stone, were built by Phœnicians. This conclusion is based upon a Phœnician inscription lately discovered on the walls of Mount Eryx, in Sicily.

Another point, not mentioned by Dr. Schliemann because it had not come to light when he wrote his argu-

ment, is noticed by Dr. Dörpfeld in his supplemental chapter. The existence of open galleries in the outer wall of the fortress at Tiryns has long been known, but their purpose has been a matter of great doubt and discussion. To set this question at rest, if possible, the excavations of the present year were made to include a thorough clearing of these galleries, when it was discovered that several vaulted chambers, which, doubtless, served as store-rooms for the palace, are connected with each of them. The similarity of these galleries with their connecting chambers to those found in the walls of Byrsa, at Carthage, seems to Dr. Dörpfeld to be another indication that Phœnicians were the builders of the great walls of Tiryns.

A comparison, however, of the two will show at once that those of Byrsa are of later date than those at Tiryns, or, at least, that the architectural design is an *advance* upon the latter; and it is certainly no *impossibility* that the idea was borrowed from Tiryns by the builders of Byrsa. It is, by no means, necessary to conclude that the *same people* built both structures. If the Phœnicians built Byrsa it is not improbable that they had learned a useful lesson in architecture during some of their visits to Tiryns.

The writer does not presume to express an opinion as to the probable builders of the walls of Tiryns; he would simply point out what may prove to be some weak points in the argument for a Phœnician origin, as that argument is presented in Dr. Schliemann's book.

We turn next to the destruction of the ancient city. Common tradition places the date subsequent to the Persian wars, about 468 B.C.

It is said, by Pausanias, that both Mycenæ and Tiryns were destroyed by the Argives through jealousy. Both these cities had acquired some fame in consequence of having sent four hundred men to the battle of Platea, from which the Argives held back. Their names were afterward inscribed upon the pedestal of the golden tripod which the Spartans offered, as a tythe of the spoils, to the Pythian Apollo at Delphi—an ancient relic

which may still be seen at the Maïdan in Constantinople, and on which are found the names Μυκᾶνες and Τυρύνθιοι. The jealousy aroused by this circumstance is said to have led the Argives to expel these people from their territory and overthrow their cities.

Dr. Schliemann, however, quotes at length an argument, by Professor Mahaffy, which goes far toward proving that this popular tradition, depending largely upon the authority of Pausanias, is incorrect; at least he shows that there is a *strong probability* that the destruction of Tiryns and Mycenæ dates from a much earlier period.

In support of this quoted argument he also brings forward some strong evidence in the pottery and other relics recovered from the ruins of the city. At Mycenæ a piece of black lacquered Hellenic pottery was found upon which was an inscription known to be of the VI. century B.C. The most diligent search failed to bring to light a single fragment of this pottery in the palace of Tiryns. The vast quantities of terra cotta recovered were at least three centuries earlier in date than this black ware, which was in common use in the VI. century B.C. The ware, therefore, in common use at the time of the overthrow was not of later date than the IX. century B.C.

Again, the numerous images of Hera brought to light were in the form of a cow, or of a woman with cow-features and horns; but this manner of representing the goddess had passed away before the days of Homer, the only remnant remaining being the title Βοώπις. The images found in Tiryns were therefore decidedly *pre-Homeric*.

Again, the axes, knives, and arrow-heads of Obsidian, recovered from the palace, all of which were of a most ancient type, indicate that the inhabitants at the time of its destruction were several centuries behind the civilisation of the V. century B.C.

Another "find," which evidently does not belong to the original palace, is of some importance in determining the date of its destruction. This is an antique Doric

capital, which is the only thing belonging to a *stone* pillar discovered in the ruins; every indication points to the use of wood exclusively in that department of the structure. How this stone capital came there is somewhat of a mystery. There are, however, some indications that a Doric temple had been erected among the ruins of the upper citadel, and the characteristics of this capital, as well as some less important remains of the same material, point to a date not *later* than the V. century B.C.

These are some of the evidences which indicate a much earlier date than that commonly assigned for the destruction of the citadel of Tiryns. Dr. Schliemann finds that date at the time of the Doric invasion, or the return of the Heracleidæ, about 1100 B.C.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the ruins themselves. They occupy the lowest of several rocky hills rising out of the plain of Argos. To the southwest, at the foot of Mt. Pontinos, lies the marsh of Lerna, notorious for malaria and fevers, against which Dr. Schliemann found it necessary to fortify himself with a dose of four grains of quinine every morning before proceeding to his labor at the excavations.

Between two and three miles away toward the south lies the city of Nauplia, on the Argolic gulf.

The rock upon which Tiryns was built forms a ridge, running North and South, about 330 yards in length and 100 or more in breadth. The highest point, about 60 feet above the surrounding plain, is at the southern extremity, where the "upper citadel" was erected; at the northern and lower extremity lies the "lower citadel," and between the two, on a middle level, a section separated from each by a heavy wall. The whole was inclosed within one vast and continuous fortification. The "upper citadel," Dr. Schliemann believes, has never been rebuilt or occupied, except by the supposed ancient Doric temple and a later Byzantine church; but upon the lower portions a second city, if no more, has flourished and passed away.

The common tradition, to which we have already

referred, is that the walls of Tiryns were built for King Proitos by seven Cyclops, whom he brought from Lycia for the purpose, their race being noted builders. They are composed of immense blocks of rough limestone, taken from a quarry not far away on the road to Nauplia.

It is probably owing to the size and roughness of these blocks that the walls have stood for so many centuries practically unharmed. The solidity of the structure, resting as it does upon the natural rock, prevented its overthrow from natural causes; and the roughness, as well as the size of the blocks, as Dr. Schliemann very justly observes, prevented later generations from carrying them away to build the less massive structures in other parts of the plain. It was easier to take the raw material from the original quarry.

Professor Adler says, in his preface, that he has himself measured stones in the lower walls from 9 to 10 feet in length, 4 to 5 feet in height, and extending into the wall, probably, an equal distance. Blocks like these, therefore, contain from 144 to 250 cubic feet of solid limestone. Dr. Schliemann gives the *average* size as above 6 feet in length by 3 in height. The mean thickness of the walls is 24 feet, the *greatest* 50 feet, and the estimated original height about 50 feet.

These general features of the outer walls have been well known for ages, as large portions of them have never been destroyed or hidden from view.

Dr. Schliemann has turned his attention chiefly to excavating the interior of the "upper citadel," which has never been considered worthy of any special attention. He thought otherwise, and the results of his labors show that he was right, always allowing that his conclusions therefrom are correct, and in this case there seems to be no good reason for doubting them.

These interior walls of the "upper citadel" he had taken for the house-walls of the inhabitants and foundations of temples, in his first partial examination in 1876. But after consideration upon their Cyclopean character, as seen in their lower courses, he was led to question

the correctness of this conclusion; a doubt which resulted in the recent thorough excavation of the entire "upper citadel."

These excavations have disclosed nearly the complete ground-plan of a prehistoric palace, a discovery which will materially change the ideas of archæologists in many important particulars in regard to the details of ruins previously examined; for at Troy, Mycenæ, and elsewhere, the remains of heavy walls within the citadel, belonging evidently to the most important building of the enclosure, have been regarded as the foundations of temples.

In Troy the different strata of débris were too confused, and in all former excavations the ruins have been found too imperfect in outline, to reveal very clearly the exact nature of the structures which they have supported; but in Tiryns the outline, in all important particulars, is so complete that it is no very difficult matter to recognise a royal palace, as described by Homer; for, although he never attempted to give a continuous, detailed description of such a structure, yet the *allusions* are so abundant, especially in the *Odyssey*, that scholars have felt justified in constructing from them a complete palace; each commentator, however, somewhat after his own private judgment and taste.

Many disputed points in these ideal structures will be practically settled by a careful study of these well-preserved ruins of the royal palace of Tiryns.

It must be remembered, however, that, although the ground-plan of the Palace can be plainly seen in most places, yet none of the walls are standing to a height exceeding about three feet from the floors, and in most cases only the lower course of stones remains in place. The character of the upper structure consequently remains largely a matter of conjecture, except that part of it which can be readily inferred from the great thresholds, which for the most part lie in their original position and, from the marks upon them, reveal the general character of the gates and doors, from the bases of pillars and pilasters, many of which are unharmed, and also from

the great mass of débris which covered the well-preserved floors of the various rooms to a depth of several feet.

Excavations, which were extended in some places below the floors of the original Palace, indicate that even this ancient building was erected over the ruins of a still earlier structure, the character of which has not been determined. This would agree with the tradition that an old settlement called Haleis occupied the rock before the citadel of Tiryns.

The current belief that there were two "grand entrances" to the fortress has been shown to be an error; but the excavations of the present year have laid bare a postern entrance for foot-passengers only, which leads by a long and winding stairway through the Western wall up to the "middle citadel," from which another stairway, discovered before, communicates with the Palace above. This newly discovered passage is vaulted for a part of the way, and then passes on between the massive walls of the fortress and those of the interior Palace; 65 steps at the lower end are still in place; above this it has entirely disappeared, so that even its point of termination is a matter of conjecture.

The single "grand entrance" to the fortress lies about midway in the Eastern wall; to this a ramp, about fifteen feet wide, embattled with large blocks of stone, leads up from the North along the outside of the fortress wall. The entrance, an open passage in the great wall, about eight feet wide, was protected by a tower on the North side. In approaching, therefore, an assailant was forced to expose to the defenders his right or unshielded side, a common device in ancient fortresses. This tower is still standing to a height of nearly 25 feet.

Within the great wall the way to the "upper citadel" rises still to the South, passing between the outer and the main palace wall.

About 50 feet from the entrance stood a massive folding gate, filling up the entire passage. The enormous stone threshold, nearly five feet broad by ten in length, still lies in its original position, and upon it are yet stand-

ing the great door-posts of breccia, more than four feet broad, three in depth, and ten in height. The gates were probably of wood, as evidences of their destruction by fire are plainly seen on the surrounding stonework.

Further on the way opens out into a large court, which occupies the Southeast corner of the fortress. On the Western side of this court stands the great Propylæum to the "upper citadel."

A break in the outer wall to the South of this open court led to the supposition that here had been a second grand entrance to the fortress; but the excavations of 1885, during which nearly the entire circuit of the outer wall was laid bare to the foundation, have shown that it was originally continuous in this place, with no opening by which to reach the plain below.

In the great Propylæum we recognise the *πρόθυρον* of Homer in the palace of Odysseus. An examination of its ground-plan, which is well preserved, shows that, in all important features, the ancient corresponds closely with the historical or modern Greek structure. The evidence here is not sufficient to indicate the exact details of the upper structure, but a comparison between the data furnished and the better known historical Propylæa will prove an interesting study to the architect. It was evidently constructed of wood, after the manner of temples *in antis*, and indicates the correctness of the theory that the later stone structures were developments of an older *wooden* model. In this place, also, the clearest evidence of an older building was discovered, in foundations still lying beneath the floor, which have no connection with the later structure.

The character of most of the buildings which surrounded the great court of the Palace, into which the Propylæum opened, could not be determined with any degree of certainty, since a land-slide on the West and the erection, in later years, of a Byzantine Church on the South, have obliterated all traces of their outline.

On the North side stood the south wall of the Palace, midway in which we find the *πρόθυρον τῆς ἀνλῆς* of the

Homeric palace. This is substantially a reproduction, on a smaller scale, of the great Propylæum.

Beyond this we find ourselves in the outer court of the men's apartments, ἡ αὐλή mentioned by Homer. This is paved with a concrete of lime and pebbles which is well preserved. One of the chief objects of interest to be seen here is the great altar, corresponding to the familiar altar of Zeus in the palace of Odysseus. The excavations of 1885 revealed also a sacrificial pit in connection with this altar.

We come next to the most important part of the Palace, the *Men's Hall*, consisting of three parts: the vestibule (ἡ αἶθουσα δώματος), the ante-room (ὁ πρόδομος), and the Men's Hall proper (τὸ μέγαρον). The latter is an immense room, nearly forty feet long by thirty-two broad. The bases of four pillars, surrounding the large circular hearth in the middle of this room, show the means by which its great roof was supported, and afford a fruitful source for conjecture as to the architectural plan upon which this covering was constructed, and, in connection therewith, the manner in which light was obtained; since this hall was entirely surrounded by other apartments, it will be seen that the builders had somewhat of a problem to solve. We may readily perceive how it *could* be solved, but the data given, upon which to decide how it *was* solved, are so slight that we would not venture to express an opinion as to the correctness of the author's conjecture that the basilica form, or clerestory, was employed. The floor of this hall shows an attempt at artistic decoration. On the concrete may be plainly seen a pattern scratched in squares, with distinct traces of at least two colors, blue and red. The side walls were covered first with a coating of clay, then "faced" with good lime plaster, and decorated in colors.

The minute and careful description of this hall, with its ante-room and vestibule, given by Dr. Dörpfeld in chapter V., will repay careful study and comparison with Homeric allusions.

In connection with these apartments we find one noteworthy feature which must not be omitted from this

sketch. A genuine bath-room, connected with the men's hall by a corridor on the West. Over this remarkable discovery the author exclaims, in raptures :

Who could have imagined that we should ever find one of the rooms in which Homeric heroes actually bathed and anointed themselves !

But here it is, nevertheless. Its floor consists of one immense stone about 13 feet long by 10 in breadth, and averaging more than 2 feet in thickness. It is so dressed upon the upper side, with a raised rim around the entire circuit, that the bather had only to empty his tub upon the floor and the water disappeared through a channel cut in one corner, which connected, by a stone pipe in the wall with a box-drain of terra cotta outside. It was afterward found that this drain was but part of a *complete system of drainage*, running throughout the Palace.

Dr. Dörpfeld believes that they recovered a fragment of one of the bathing-tubs of terra cotta used in this bath-room. But the piece discovered forms such a small fraction of the *tub restored*, as shown in the colored plate, that we must confess to some doubt as to whether it might not have been, equally well, a fragment of almost *any other* vessel the imagination can picture.

There can be little doubt, however, about the bath-room itself. It would be a very difficult matter to account for its peculiar construction on any other hypothesis ; nor can we doubt that even Homeric heroes found the advantage and necessity of such an apartment. This discovery is certainly one of the most interesting laid before us in the book.

To the East of the Men's Hall, *and entirely separated from it* (a fact which throws some light upon a disputed point in regard to the Homeric palace), we find the women's apartments. These consist of a court, vestibule, and main hall, but with no ante-room. They were constructed on the same general plan as the men's apartments, but on a smaller scale ; and connected with them, in the northeast corner of the enclosure, we find the *θάλαμοι*, one of which was the treasure-room. Of these,

and all the minor rooms of the palace, the author gives a minute and interesting description in Chapter V.

A comparison of this brief outline with Homer's allusions to the Palace of Odysseus, will show that there is good ground for Dr. Schliemann's belief that he has laid bare the foundations of the Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns.

The next important feature of these discoveries demanding notice is found in the materials used, and the manner in which they were prepared and put together. On all these points erroneous opinions have been current; in fact, the later developments of 1885 show that some of those expressed in the earlier chapters of this book itself are incorrect. Stone was, of course, the chief material employed, and three varieties are noticed. The hard limestone, which predominates, was cut from quarries on the road to Nauplia.

It has been commonly believed that the main walls of the fortress were built of blocks in the rough state in which they were dug from the quarry and laid up *without mortar*, the crevices between them being filled in with broken pieces of stone. The same statement is also made in the earlier parts of this book, though Prof. Adler, in his preface, ventures the conjecture that more careful examination will show

that in the construction of all so-called Cyclopean walls, a strong mortar of loam, or potter's clay, was used as bedding material, which facilitated the laying, etc. . . . but dried up afterward, and, by being gradually washed away, finally disappeared.

The excavations of 1885 proved the truth of this conjecture for, in the lower courses of the outer wall, distinct traces were found of a clay mortar mixed with straw. It was discovered also that, even in the heavier walls, some attempt had been made at "dressing" the immense blocks. One side, and sometimes more, was found to be rudely "faced" with a pick-hammer, while drill-holes in the sides of some, and down the corners of others, showed that many blocks had been split for "faces." This was done, undoubtedly, by driving plugs

of wood into the drill-holes, when the application of water would cause a sufficient swelling of the wood to rend the block.

The stones used for *antæ* blocks and pillar bases had been prepared by *sawing*, the usual curved lines made by a saw being plainly seen upon their faces. Sockets in the thresholds, for the pivots of the door-frames, and many of the dowel holes, had evidently been made with a hollow augur, as a round core was found still standing in the bottom of some. In cases, however, where the softer sandstone had been used, these holes had been cut out square with some other instrument.

The second variety of stone employed was breccia, a conglomerate of pebbles. It was found only in a few steps and pillar bases, and in the immense door-posts of the main gate, already described. Large beds of this conglomerate are found near Mycenæ, and it is supposed that they furnished the material used here.

A third variety was also found in the lower step to the vestibule of the Men's Hall and in a few *antæ* blocks of common sandstone; where it came from is uncertain; none is known to exist in the neighborhood of Tiryns.

Wood was used in the doors, door-posts, pillars, pilasters, wainscoting, and roofing timbers, and longitudinal beams were inserted in the side walls.

That a large quantity of this material entered into the original structure is evident from the distinct traces of an immense conflagration throughout every portion of the palace; the spaces left by longitudinal beams in the walls may still be seen; charred fragments of some of the pivots of the door-posts were found in their sockets; and wherever this theory would bring wood into contact with stone or brick, evidences of having been subjected to an intense heat are clearly seen; while for those parts of the building specified no trace of any other construction can be found. There is good reason to believe, therefore, that where Dr. Dörpfeld assumes wood to have been the material employed, his conjecture is correct.

The use of some metal as sheathing for the wood of the doors, wainscoting, etc., is also surmised. But as

no distinct evidence of its presence was discovered in the ruins, it may be concluded that this was not the case. Although it is not *impossible* that such metal may have been removed previous to the burning of the palace, yet it is to be considered whether, in so vast a structure, there must not have been left, even in that case, some slight vestiges of its former presence. Whereas the only relic of metal (used in the building itself) is a cap of bronze belonging to the pivot of a door-post. From this it is concluded that all these pivots were shod with a bronze cap, but other remains of metal there were none.

The employment of clay was also extensive. It was used in the floors, as a foundation for the lime concrete; on the side walls, to level the surface preparatory to receiving the facing of lime plaster; in mortar for the heavy walls; as a coating for the roof (?); and in sun-baked bricks, of which the upper part of the interior walls was constructed. These bricks contain straw, and *as found* are *fire-baked*; but Dr. Dörpfeld enters into an extensive, and in most particulars satisfactory, argument to show that this was done, not in the original preparation of the material, but in the conflagration which destroyed the palace.

The discovery of another important material goes far toward settling the controversy as to whether the ancient Greeks had any knowledge of *lime*. It was found here in abundance and well preserved, both in the concrete pavement of the rooms and in the plaster "facing" of the side walls.

The "treatment" of these side walls next demands some notice. From the fragments of lime plaster recovered, it is evident that these primitive people had some knowledge and appreciation of decorative art; much more, doubtless, than is commonly believed.

The bulk of the fragments of plaster were taken from the débris with which the various rooms were filled. In many places small portions still adhered to the standing walls, but in only one place, on the walls of the woman's hall, had any trace of *color* been preserved. But this one piece was sufficiently extensive, not only to show

where the pieces of decorated plaster found in the *débris* belonged, but as well to give a fairly correct idea as to the *plan* of decoration.

From this it would appear that above a dado or wainscoting of stone or wood, about 2 feet in height, the plaster had been colored, in some instances "solid" and in others with elaborate figures and patterns. This decorated portion was in the form of a broad band running around the entire circuit of the walls.

Most of the fallen fragments found in the accumulated *débris* had lost all trace of color; but where pieces were found with their faces downward, and well covered beneath the *débris*, the colors remained in a fair state of preservation; in fact, a slight moistening served to bring them out with nearly their original brilliancy. Five colors only appear to have been used—black, white, yellow, blue, and red. No mixed or compound colors occur.

It is also evident that the method of application was free-hand, the outline having first been drawn with a pencil. On many pieces these pencil-marks are distinctly visible beneath the paint. Especially is this the case in the instance of what many will regard as the most remarkable of these recovered figures.

Seven separate pieces, when fitted together, are found to present nearly the complete figure of a bull, running at full speed, with a man evidently practising gymnastics upon his back. The entire figure is about 18 inches long and 12 in height. The figures are painted in white upon a back-ground of blue, and the shading is done in red with some lines in black. The artist had evidently made several attempts at "posing" his outline before he was satisfied with his "effects;" for enough of the final coloring has disappeared to reveal the presence beneath of several tails, with differing elegancies of curve, as well as numerous legs and hoofs. The minute and artistic description of this figure given in the book is worthy of special attention. We find it also reproduced in gold upon the outside cover of the volume.

The most important of these fragments of decorated

plaster are reproduced in 9 colored plates, and full descriptions of them will be found in the body of the work. One of the patterns illustrated corresponds very closely in design to the sculptured ceiling recovered from Orchomenos.

Another "find" connected with the treatment of the side walls is of great importance, since it practically decides one of the Homeric "discussions." In describing the Palace of Alkinoos, Homer speaks of a frieze of Kyanos (θριγγός κυάνοιο). This *κύανος* has usually been interpreted "blue steel;" though some scholars, notably Lepsius and Helbig, hold that it was either the natural *lapis lazuli* or an artificial blue glass, choosing the latter as the material probably alluded to by Homer. This opinion is confirmed by an alabaster frieze found by Dr. Schliemann in the vestibule of the Men's Hall at Tiryns. It consists of several slabs of alabaster, constructed into a frieze on the plan of metopes and triglyphs. Parts of these are sufficiently well preserved to indicate the general design of the whole work. The important feature of the piece is the *blue glass*, or Kyanos, with which the figures are inlaid. Many of these pieces still remain in place, and in the "restored" plate which Dr. Dörpfeld lays before us we may perceive a companion to the Homeric frieze of Kyanos in the Palace of Alkinoos.

We would be glad to give a more particular description of many of the interesting relics recovered here, for the benefit of those readers of the REVIEW who may not meet with the book itself; but space forbids. We have already drawn out this article far beyond the limits of our original intention, and must bring it to a close with a brief survey of the pottery and images described by Dr. Schliemann in Chapters III. and IV. He distinguishes between the pottery found in the oldest débris and that belonging distinctively to the Palace of the Kings. That presented in Chapter III. was recovered from the very lowest strata, and is supposed to be the remains of the settlement of fishermen called Haleis which preceded the Palace and its Cyclopean walls.

The first class of pottery represented here is that of terra-cotta vases of rude workmanship, having excrescences at the sides, with *vertical* perforations, for the purpose of suspension.

In the *lowest* débris at *Troy* large numbers of this class were found, but elsewhere only a few specimens here and there in the very oldest ruins have been recovered. It is worthy of note, however, that the "finds" of this distinct class have been widely separated, scattered throughout nearly every country of Western Europe.

The query is naturally suggested, Did this prehistoric correspondence in works of art come from an independent, spontaneous development in races widely separated? or was there a more intimate connection than has yet come to light between these different parts of the ancient world?

Most of the pottery which Dr. Schliemann assigns to the older settlement is in a fragmentary state. Some is made of the coarsest clay, with pebbles protruding from the surface; other specimens had been dipped in a finer clay before baking and polished, from which they have received a lustrous red or black finish. Hand-made work predominates, yet some specimens were found which indicate that even these very earliest settlers on the rock of Tiryns had some practical knowledge of the potter's wheel. Little attempt at decoration is found on any, although some specimens are marked with white lines and spirals, and others have bands of clay ornaments moulded upon their outer surface. Every type discovered has its companion in *Troy*, *Mycenæ*, and other ancient ruins.

No remains of metals were found, but some of the stone relics have a polish, which Dr. Schliemann thinks could not have been obtained without the aid of bronze tools. In this class of objects are the polishing-stones used in finishing clay vessels, some of black or red marble and others of black granite. The knives of obsidian were symmetrical and double edged, similar to those found in *Troy*; but the arrow-heads were of a much ruder manufacture, like those of silex found in France

in the cave dwellings of the age of the Mammoth. From the chips and half-formed implements found in abundance, it is evident that these articles were manufactured upon the spot, but from raw material imported from other parts, no native obsidian having been found in the neighborhood of the Argolic plain.

Corn-bruisers of various stones, immense hammers without handles, and cone-shaped spinning-whorls of bluestone and terra-cotta were found in abundance, but are simply repetitions of the finds in Troy, Mycenæ, and other previous excavations.

The *absence* of the black lacquered Hellenic pottery from the Palace, and the argument for an earlier date for the destruction of the city which Dr. Schliemann bases thereon, has already been noted.

For convenience of consideration, the relics unearthed in the Palace are divided by the author into several distinct classes. The first, that decorated with geometric designs, he concludes could not have been of native manufacture, on account of its striking dissimilarity to the bulk of the "finds," both in the kind of clay of which it is composed and the manner in which it had been baked, as well as in the style of decoration. He believes it to be of Phœnician workmanship, and to have been imported into Tiryns by those omnipresent merchants.

In the head-cloth worn by many of the female figures with which these vases are adorned, we recognise the Homeric *καλύπτρη* or the *κρήδεμνον*, with which Penelope veiled her face when she appeared before the suitors.

Among the fragments of the second, third, and fourth classes, those decorated with glossy white figures, those with birds and stags, and those with marine animals, are many very interesting specimens which cannot be noted here. Evidence of very early Phœnician traffic is again found in the large class covered with spiral ornaments. The long list included in the miscellaneous class of terra-cotta relics must also be omitted, and a few words devoted to the idols.

Those described by Dr. Schliemann in Chapter IV.

are of two classes : First, the rudest kind of clay images, representing female figures, which belong to an antiquity far more remote than those found in Troy and Mycenæ. Their evident common use at the time the city was destroyed, and the great difference between them and the decorated pottery as works of art, would indicate a faithfulness to the traditions of their religion, even in the *form* of its idols, which is by no means peculiar to Tiryns.

The second class is the cow-idol, a representation of Hera, of which large numbers were found in all parts of the Palace. They have already been noticed in connection with the question of the date of the destruction of the city.

The later excavations of 1885 brought to light two other deities not mentioned in connection with the earlier "finds." One single specimen was unearthed of a terrâ-cotta image, representing a woman holding a bird upon her lap, which was undoubtedly intended for Aphrodite. A large number of images were also brought to light which represent a woman holding in her arms the animal sacred to Demeter—the pig.

In reference to the stone articles recovered, the most important of which have been mentioned in other connections, Dr. Schliemann very justly remarks :

If the primitive pottery described in the foregoing pages should not suffice to convince us that the Palace of Tiryns was destroyed in prehistoric times, we must yield to the additional evidence afforded by the countless knives and arrow-heads of obsidian.

However much we may differ from some of the conclusions put forth in this volume, it cannot be denied that a vast amount of valuable material is here presented for the consideration of Homeric scholars, and much which will materially alter current theories in regard to many of the details of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

There is not the opportunity for doubt in this case that exists in Dr. Schliemann's location of the site of ancient Troy. No question of this nature is involved ; he has simply laid bare the details of an acknowledged pre-

Homeric citadel and Royal Palace; and archæologists, as well as scholars in general, will not be slow to recognise the valuable service he has rendered classical scholarship, and to accord him the honor due to one who devotes his life and fortune, with no hope of recompense save that which is purely subjective, to the cause of knowledge and Classic Art.

SCOTT B. RATHBUN.

THE BOOK ANNEXED : ITS CRITICS AND ITS PROSPECTS.

I.

The Book Annexed to the Report of the Joint Committee on the Book of Common Prayer Appointed by the General Convention of 1880. Philadelphia : 1883.

Notification to the Dioceses of the Alterations and Additions in the Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Proposed in the General Convention of 1883, and to be acted upon at the General Convention of 1886.

The Book Annexed to the Report of the Joint Committee on the Book of Common Prayer, as Modified by the Action of the General Convention of 1883.

FIRST, last, and always this is to be said with respect to the revision of the American Common Prayer, that unless we can accomplish it with hearty good feeling, the attempt at improvement ought to be abandoned altogether.

The day has gone by when new formularies of worship could be imposed on an unwilling Church by edict, and although under our carefully guarded system of ecclesiastical legislation there is little danger of either haste or unfairness, we must bear it well in mind that something more than "a constitutional majority of both

houses" is needful if we would see liturgical revision crowned with real success. Of course absolute unanimity is not to be expected. Every improvement that the world has seen was greeted at its birth by a chorus of select voices sounding the familiar anthem, "The old is better;" and the generation of those, who, in the sturdy phrase of King James's revisers, "give liking unto nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil" will be always with us. But substantial unanimity may exist, even when absolute unanimity is impossible, and if anything like a general consent can be secured for revision in 1886 as was given to it in 1883, the friends of the movement will have good reason to be satisfied.

That there has been, since the publication of the "Book Annexed as Modified," a certain measure of reaction against the spirit of change must be evident to all who watch carefully the pulse of public opinion in the Church. Whether this reaction be as serious as some imagine, whether it have good reasons to allege, and whether it be not already giving tokens of spent force; are points which in the present paper will be touched only incidentally, for the writer's purpose is rather irenic than polemical, and he is more concerned to remove misapprehensions and allay fears than to seek the fading leaf of a controversial victory.

LIMITATIONS.

No estimate of the merits and demerits of the *Book Annexed* can be a just one that leaves out of account the limitations under which the framers of it did their work. These limitations were not unreasonable ones. It was right and proper that they should be imposed. There is no good ground for a belief that the time will ever come when a "blank cheque," to borrow Mr. Goschen's mercantile figure, will be given to any company of liturgical revisers to fill out as they may see fit. But the moulders of forms, in whatever department of plastic art their specialty lies, when challenged to show cause why their

work is deficient in symmetry or completeness, have an undoubted right to plead in reply the character of the conditions under which they labored. The present instance offers no exception to the general rule. In the first place, a distinct pledge was given in the House of Deputies, in 1880, before consent to the appointment of the Joint Committee was secured, that in case such permission to launch a movement in favor of revision as was asked for were to be granted, no attempt would be made seriously to change the Liturgy proper, namely, the Office of the Holy Communion.

The question was distinctly asked by a clerical deputy from the Diocese of Maryland,* Do you desire to modify the Office of the Holy Communion? and it was as distinctly answered by the mover of the resolution under which the Joint Committee was finally appointed, No, we do not. It is true that such a pledge, made by a single member of one House, could only measurably control the action of a Joint Committee in which both Houses were to be represented; but it is equally plain that the maker of the pledge was in honor bound to do all in his power to secure the observance of its terms.

Let this historical fact be noted by those who are disposed to complain that the Joint Committee did not pull to pieces and entirely rearrange the Anglo-Scoto-American Office, which now for a long time and until quite recently we have been taught to esteem the nearest possible approach to liturgical perfection.

Under this same head of "limitations" must be set down the following resolutions passed by the Joint Committee itself, at its first regular meeting:

Resolved, That this Committee asserts, at the outset, its conviction that no alteration should be made touching either statements or standards of doctrine in the Book of Common Prayer.

Resolved, That this Committee, in all its suggestions and acts, be guided by those principles of liturgical construction and ritual use which have guided the compilation and amendments of the Book of Common Prayer, and have made it what it is.

* The Rev. Dr. Orlando Hutton.

It was manifestly impossible, under resolutions like these, to depart very widely from established precedent, or in any serious measure to disturb the foundations of things.

The first of them shut out wholly the consideration of such questions as the reinstatement of the Athanasian Creed or the proposal to make optional the use of the word "regenerate" in the Baptismal Offices; while the other forbade the introduction of such sentimental and grotesque conceits as "An Office for the Blessing of Candles," "An Office for the Benediction of a Lifeboat," and "An Office for the Reconciliation of a Lapsed Cleric."*

Still another very serious limitation, and one especially unfriendly to that perfectness of contour which we naturally look to see in a liturgical formulary, grew out of the tender solicitude of the Committee for what may be called the vested rights of congregations. There was a strong reluctance to the cutting away even of what might seem to be dead wood, lest there should ensue, or be thought to ensue, the loss of something really valuable.

It was only as the result of much painstaking effort, and only at some sacrifice of literary fastidiousness, that the Committee was enabled to report a Book of which it could be said that, while it added much of possible enrichment, it took away almost nothing that had been in actual possession.† There could be no better illustration of this point than is afforded by certain of the alterations proposed to be made in the Order for Evening Prayer.

The Committee felt assured that upon no point was the judgment of the Church likely to be more unanimous than in approving the restoration to their time-honored home in the Evening Office of *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis*, and yet so unwilling were they to displace *Bonum est confiteri* and *Benedic anima mea* from positions

* *Priest's Prayer-Book*. Fifth edition, pp. 238, 243, 281.

† The *Prayer for Imprisoned Debtors* is believed to be the only formulary actually dropped.

they have only occupied since 1789, that they authorised the unquestionably clumsy expedient of printing three responds to each Lesson.

Probably a large majority of the Committee would have preferred to drop *Bonum est confiteri* and *Benedic anima mea* altogether, retaining *Cantate Domino* and *Deus misereatur* as the sole alternates to the two Gospel canticles, as in the English Book, but rather than have a thousand voices cry out, as it was believed they would cry out, "You have robbed us," the device of a second alternate was adopted, to the sad defacement of the printed page. It may be charged that in thus choosing the Committee betrayed timidity, and that a wise boldness would have been the better course; but if account be taken of the attitude consistently maintained by General Convention toward any proposition for the change of so much as a comma in the Prayer Book, during a period of fifty years prior to the introduction of the Book Annexed, it will perhaps be concluded that for the characterisation of the Committee's policy timidity is scarcely so proper a word as caution.

SPECIAL CRITICISMS.

(a) *Foreign.*

As there is reason to believe that opinion at home has been very considerably affected by foreign criticism of the *Book Annexed*, it will be well at this point to give some attention to what has been said in English journals in review of the work thus far accomplished. The more noteworthy of the foreign criticisms are those contained in *The Church Quarterly Review*, *The Church Times*, and *The Guardian*.*

The Church Quarterly reviewer opens with an expression of deep regret at "the failure to take advantage of the opportunity for reinstating the Athanasian Creed."

**The Church Quarterly Review* for April, 1884, and July, 1884. *The Church Times*, for August 29, 1884, also July 31, August 7, August 14, 21, 28, September 4, 1885. *The Guardian*, for July 20, 1885.

As already observed, no such opportunity existed. By formal vote the Joint Committee debarred itself from any proceeding of this sort, and the Convention, which sat in judgment on its work, was manifestly of opinion that in so acting the Committee had rightly interpreted its charter.

The reviewer, who is in full sympathy with the movement for enrichment, as such, goes on to recommend, as a more excellent way than that followed in the *Book Annexed*, the compilation of

an Appendix to the Book of Common Prayer to contain the much-needed *Additional Services* for both Sunday and other use in churches, in mission chapels, and in religious communities, as well as a full supply of *Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings* for objects and purposes, missionary and otherwise, which are as yet entirely unrepresented in our Offices.

There are obvious reasons why this device should commend itself to an English Churchman, for it is unlikely that anything better than this, or, indeed, anything so satisfactory, could be secured by Act of Parliament.

For something very much better than this, however, a self-governed Church, like our own, has a right to look, and, in all probability, will look until the thing is found. An *Appendix* to a manual of worship, whether the manual be Prayer Book or Hymnal,* is and cannot but be, from the very nature of things, a blemish to the eye, an embarrassment to the hand, and a vexation to the spirit. Such *addenda* carry on their face the suggestion that they are makeshifts, postscripts, after-thoughts, and in their lack of dignity, as well as of convenience, pronounce their own condemnation.

Moreover, in our particular case, no "Appendix," "Prymer," or "Authorised Vade-mecum" could accomplish the ends that are most of all desired. Fancy putting the *Magnificat*, the *Nunc dimittis*, the Versicles that follow the Creed, and the "Lighten our darkness"

* Recall the "Additional Hymns" of 1868.

into an "Appendix." It would be the defeat of our main object.

Then, too, this is to be remembered, that in order to secure a "fully authorised Appendix," we, in this country, should be obliged to follow precisely the same legal process we follow in altering the Prayer Book. If an Occasional Office cannot pass the ordeal of the criticism of two successive Conventions, it ought not to be set forth at all; if it can and does stand that test, then it ought to be inserted in the Prayer Book, in the particular place where it most appropriately belongs, and may most readily be found.

Moreover, it should be remembered that one, and by no means the least efficient, of the causes that brought the Common Prayer into existence in the XVI. century was disgust at the multiplication of Service books. We American Churchmen have two already; let us beware of adding a third.

The critic of the *Quarterly* was probably unacquainted with the fact that in the American Episcopal Church the experimental setting forth of Offices "for optional and discretional use" is not possible under the terms of the Constitution. We either must adopt outright and for permanent use, or else peremptorily reject whatever is urged upon us in the name of liturgical improvement.

Entering next upon a detailed criticism of the contents of the *Book Annexed*, the writer proceeds to offer a number of suggestions, some of them of great value. He pleads earnestly and with real force for the restoration of the LORD'S Prayer to its "place of honor" between the Creed and the Preces, showing, in a passage of singular beauty, how the whole daily office "may be said to have grown out of, or radiated from, or been crystallised round the central *Pater noster*," even as "from the Words of Institution has grown the Christian Liturgy."

The critic has only praise for the amendments in the office for Thanksgiving-day, approves the selection of Proper Sentences for the opening of Morning and Evening Prayer, avers, certainly with truth, that the Office

of the Beatitudes might be improved, welcomes "the very full repertory of special prayers," thinks that the *Short Office of Prayer for Sundry Occasions* "certainly supplies a want," rejoices in the recognition of the Feast of the Transfiguration, and closes what is by far the most considerable, and, both as respects praise and blame, the most valuable of all the reviews that have been made of the *Book Annexed*, whether at home or abroad, with these words:

On the whole, we very heartily congratulate our Transatlantic brothers on the labors of their Joint Committee. We hope their recommendations may be adopted, and more in the same direction; and that the two or three serious blemishes which we have felt constrained to point out and to lament may be removed from the book in the form finally adopted.

And, further, we very earnestly trust that this work, which has been very evidently so carefully and conscientiously done, may speedily, by way of example and precedent, bear fruit in a like process of enrichment among ourselves.

Commending these last words to the consideration of those who take alarm at the suggestion of touching the Prayer Book lest we may hurt the susceptibilities of our "kin beyond sea," and unduly anticipate that "joint action of both Churches," which, at least until disestablishment comes, must always remain a sheer impossibility, we pass to a consideration of the six articles contributed to the *Church Times* in July and August last, under the title *The Revised American Prayer Book*. Here we come upon a writer who, if not always edifying, has the undoubted merit of being never dull. In fact, so deliciously are logical inconsequence and accidental humor mingled throughout his fifteen columns of discursive criticism that a suspicion arises as to the writer's nationality. It is doubtful whether any one born on the English side of the Channel could possibly have suggested the establishment of a Saint's Day in honor of the late respected Warden of Racine College, or seriously have proposed that Messrs. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Russell Lowell, Henry James, and W. D. Howells be appointed a jury of "literary

arbitrament," to sit in judgment on the liturgical language of the *Book Annexed*; and this out of respect to our proper national pride. Doubtless it would add perceptibly to the amused sense of the unfitness of things with which these eminent liberals must have seen themselves thus named, if permission could be given to the jury, when empanelled, to "co-opt" into its number Mr. Samuel Clemens and Mr. Dudley Warner.*

The general tenor of the writer in the *Church Times* may fairly be inferred from the following extract from the first article of the series :

The judgment that must be pronounced on the work, as a whole, is precisely that which has been passed on the Revised New Testament, that there are doubtless some few changes for the better, so obvious and so demanded beforehand by all educated opinion that to have neglected them would at once have stamped the revisers as blockheads and dunces; but that the set-off in the way of petty and meddlesome changes for the worse, neglect of really desirable improvements, bad English, failure in the very matter of pure scholarship just where it was least to be expected, and general departure from the terms of the Commission assigned to them (notably by their introduction of confusion instead of flexibility into the services, so that the congregation can seldom know what is going to happen) has so entirely outweighed the merits of the work that it cannot possibly be adopted by the Church, and must be dismissed as a dismal fiasco, to be dealt with anew in some more adequate fashion.

This paragraph is not reproduced for the purpose of discrediting the writer of it as a judge of English prose, for there are various passages in the course of the six articles that would more readily lend themselves to such a use. The object in quoting it is simply to put the reader into possession, in a compact form, of the most

* This proposal of arbitration has occasioned so much innocent mirth, that, in justice to the maker of it, attention should be called to the ambiguity of the language in which it is couched. The wording of the passage is vague. It is just possible that by "the question" which he would be content to submit to the judgment of the four specified writers of fiction, he means, not, as he has been understood to mean, the whole subject-matter of the *Book Annexed*, but only the abstract question whether verbal variations from the English original of the Common Prayer be or be not, on grounds of purity of style, desirable. Even if this be all that he means, there is perhaps still room for a smile; but, at all events, he ought to have the benefit of the doubt.

angry, even if not the most formidable, of the various indictments yet brought against the *Book Annexed*.

Moreover, the last words of the extract supply a good text for certain didactic remarks that ought to be made, with respect to what is possible and what is not possible in the line of liturgical revision in America.

Worthless as the result of the Joint Committee's labors has turned out to be, their motive, we are assured, was a good one. The critic's contention is not that the work they undertook is a work that ought not to be done, but rather that when done it should be better done. The revision as presented must be "dismissed as a dismal fiasco," but only dismissed "in order to be dealt with anew in some more adequate fashion." But on what ground can we rest this sanguine expectation of better things to come? Whence is to originate and how is to be appointed the commission of "experts" which is to give us at last the "Ideal Liturgy?"

Cardinal Newman in one of his lesser controversial tracts remarks:

If the English people lodge power in the many, not in the few, what wonder that its operation is round-about, clumsy, slow, intermittent, and disappointing? You cannot eat your cake and have it; you cannot be at once a self-governing nation and have a strong government.*

Similarly it may be said that, however great the difficulties that beset liturgical revision by legislative process, at the hands of some five hundred men, nevertheless, the fact remains that the body known in law as The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America has provided in its Constitution that change in its formularies shall be so effected and not otherwise. It may turn out that we must give up in despair the whole movement for a better adaptation of our manual of worship to the needs of our land and of our time; it may be found that the obstacles in the way are absolutely insuperable, but let us dream no dreams of seeing this thing handed

* Discussions and Arguments, p. 341.

over, "with power," to a "commission of experts," for that is something which will never come to pass.

Whether "experts" in liturgics are any more likely to furnish us with good prayers than "experts" in prosody are likely to give us the best poetry is a tempting question, but one that must be left, for the present, on one side. Perhaps, if the inquiry were to be pushed, we might find ourselves shut up to the curious conclusion that the framers of the very earliest liturgies, the authors of the old sacramentaries, were either verbally inspired or else were lacking in the qualifications which alone could fit them to do worthily the work they worthily did, for clearly "experts" they were not.

But the question that immediately concerns us is one of simple fact. Assuming the present laborious effort at betterment to have been proved a "fiasco," how is the General Convention to set in motion any more promising enginery of revision? "Summon in," say our English advisers, "competent scholars, and give them *carte blanche* to do what they will." But the Convention, which is by law the final arbiter, has no power to invite to a share in its councils men who have no constitutional right to a seat upon its floor. How thankfully should we welcome as participants in our debates and as allies in our legislation the eminent liturgical scholars who give lustre to the clergy list of the Church of England; but we are as powerless to make them members of the General Convention as we should be to force them into the House of Commons. The same holds true at home. If the several Dioceses fail to discover their own "inglorious Miltons," and will not send them up to General Convention, General Convention may, and doubtless does, lament the blindness of the constituencies, but it cannot correct their blunder. The Dioceses in which the "experts" canonically reside had had full warning that important liturgical interests were to be discussed and acted upon in the General Convention of 1883, why were the "experts" left at home? And if they were not returned in 1883, is there sufficient reason to believe that they will ever be returned in any

coming year of grace? It must be either that the American Church is bereft of "experts," or else that the constituencies, influenced possibly by the hard sense of the laity, have learned hopelessly to confound the "expert" with the doctrinaire.

Of "expert testimony," in the shape of the liturgical material, gathered mainly by English writers during the last fifty years, the Joint Committee had no lack. That this material was carefully sifted and conscientiously used, the *Book Annexed* will itself, one day, be acknowledged to be the sufficient evidence.

There is still another point that must be taken into account in this connection, to wit, the attitude which the Episcopate has a right to take with respect to any proposed work of liturgical revision. Bishops have probably become inured to the hard measure habitually dealt out to them in the columns of the *Church Times*, and are unlikely to allow charges of ignorance and incompetency so far to disturb their composure, as to make them afraid to prosecute a work which, from time immemorial, has been held to lie peculiarly within their province. It may be affirmed, with some confidence, that no revision of the American Office will ever be ratified in the conduct of which the Bishops of the Church have not been allowed the leadership which belongs to them of right. Then it is for the General Convention carefully to consider, whether any House of Bishops destined to be convened in our time, is likely to have on its roll, the names of any prelates more competent, whether on the score of learning or of practical experience, to deal with a work of liturgical revision than were the seven prelates elected by the free voice of their brethren to represent the Episcopal Order on the Joint Committee of Twenty-one.

Coming to details the reviewer of the *Church Times* regrets, first of all, the failure of the Convention to change the name of the Church. He goes on to express a disapproval, more or less qualified, of the discretionary power given to Bishops to set forth forms of prayer for special occasions, and of the continued permission to use Selections of Psalms instead of the Psalms for the day.

It is not quite clear whether he approves the expansion of the Table of Proper Psalms or not, though he thinks it "abstractedly desirable" that provision be made in this connection for "Corpus Christi and All Souls."

He condemns the latitude allowed in the choice of lessons under the rules of the new lectionary, fearing that a clergyman who happens to dislike any given chapter because of its contents, may be tempted habitually to suppress it by substituting another, but in the very next paragraph he gravely questions the expediency of limiting congregations to such hymns as have been "duly set forth and allowed by authority." Yet most observers, at least on this side of the water, are of opinion that liberty of choice within the limits of the Bible is a far safer freedom, so far as the breeding of heresy goes, than liberty of choice beyond the limits of the Hymnal has proved itself to be. The reviewer is pleased with the addition of the Feast of the Transfiguration to the Calendar, but "desiderates more," and would gladly welcome the introduction into the Prayer Book of commemorations of eminent saints, from Ignatius down,* but of this mention has already been made, and it is unnecessary to revert to it.

There follows next a protest against the selection of proper Sentences prefixed to Morning and Evening Prayer.

The revisers seem to have a glimmering of what was the right thing to do, . . . but they should have swept away the undevotional and unliturgical plan of beginning with certain detached texts, which has no fitness whatever, and has never even seemed to answer any useful end.

This is stronger language than most of us are likely to approve. A Church that directly takes issue with Rome, as ours does, with respect to the true source of authority in religion, has an excellent reason for letting the voice of Holy Scripture sound the key-note of her daily worship, whether there be ancient precedent for such a use or not.

* "The list might be brought down as late as the authorities pleased to bring it, even to include, if they chose, such names as John Keble, James De Koven, and Ferdinand Ewer."—*The Church Times* for August 14, 1885.

At the same time, the reviewer's averment that "the only proper opening is the Invocation of the Holy Trinity" is entitled to attention; and it is worth considering whether the latter portion of the nineteenth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of S. Matthew's Gospel might not be advantageously added to the list of opening Sentences, for optional use.

In speaking of the new alternate to the Declaration of Absolution, the reviewer suggests most happily that it would be well to revive the form of mutual confession of priest and people found in the old service-books. This proposal would probably not be entertained in connection with the regular Orders for Morning and Evening Prayer, but room for such a feature might perhaps be found in some optional office.

After a grudging commendation of the steps taken in the *Book Annexed* to restore the Gospel Canticles, the reviewer next puts in a strong plea for a larger allowance of versicles and responses after the Creed, contending that this is "just one of the places where enrichment, much beyond that of replacing the English versicles and responses now missing, is feasible and easy," to which the answer is that we, who love these missing versicles, shall think ourselves fortunate if we succeed in regaining only so much as we have lost. Even this will be accomplished with difficulty. It is most interesting, however, to notice that this stout defender of all that is English, acknowledges the coupling together of the versicle "Give peace in our time, O LORD," and the response "Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O GOD," to be "a very infelicitous *non-sequitur*." For correcting this palpable incongruity, the authors of the *Book Annexed* have been sharply criticised here at home. What were they that they should have presumed to disturb ancient Anglican precedent in such a point? If we could not understand why the God of battles, as the God of battles, should be implored to "give peace in our time," so much the worse for our intelligence.

But here comes the most acrid of all our critics, and

shows how the collocation of sentences in the English Book has, from the beginning, been due to a palpable blunder in condensing an office of the Sarum Breviary. Of the American substitute for this "unhappy response," the best he can say, however, is that it is "well-intentioned." Of the "Office of the Beatitudes", the reviewer declares that it "needs thorough recasting before it can stand," and in this we agree with him, as will hereafter appear, though wholly unable to concur in his sweeping condemnation in this connection of one of the most beautiful of Canon Bright's liturgical compositions, the Collect beginning, "O God, by whom the meek are guided in judgment and light riseth up in darkness for the godly." Of this exquisite piece of idiomatic English, the reviewer allows himself to speak as being "A very poor composition, defective in rhythm."

The criticism of the eucharistic portions of the *Book Annexed* is mainly in the line of complaint that more has not been added in the way of new collects and proper prefaces, but upon this point it is unnecessary to dwell, the reasons having been already given why the Joint Committee and the Convention left the liturgy proper almost untouched. Neither is there anything that specially calls for notice or serious reply in what is said about the Occasional Offices.

The Office for the Burial of Children is acknowledged to be a needed addition, but as it stands "is pitched in an entirely wrong key. The Cognate Offices in the 'Rituale Romanum' and the 'Priest's Prayer Book' ought to have shown the Committee, were it not for their peculiar unteachableness, a better way." To one who can read between the lines, this arraignment of the Americans for their lack of docility to the teachings of the "*Priest's Prayer Book*" is not devoid of drollery.

It will happily illustrate the peculiar difficulties that beset liturgical revision to close this *résumé* of the censures of the *Church Times* by printing, side by side, the reviewer's estimate of the changes proposed in the Confirmation Office and the independent judgment of a

learned evangelical divine of our own Church upon the same point.

The Confirmation Service, as one of the very poorest in the Anglican rites, stood particularly in need of amendment and enrichment, especially by the removal of the ambiguous word "confirm" applied to the acts of the candidates, whereby the erroneous opinion that they came merely to confirm and ratify their baptismal promises, and not to be confirmed and strengthened in virtue of something bestowed upon them, has gained currency.

Thus far the English Ritualist. Here follows the American Evangelical:

I still hope you will see your way clear to modify the present draft of the proposed Confirmation Office, as it gives a much higher Sacramentarian idea of it than the present, a concession which will greatly please the Sacerdotalists, to which they are by no means entitled.

The critic of *The Guardian* is a writer of different make, and entitled every way to the most respectful attention. His fault-finding, which is invariably courteous, is mainly confined to the deficiencies of the *Book Annexed*.

He would have had more done rather than less; but at the same time clearly points out that under the restrictions which controlled the Committee more could not fairly have been expected. He regrets that in restoring the lost portions of *Venite* and *Benedictus* the Convention did not make the use of the complete form in every case obligatory; and of the eight concluding verses of the latter canticle, which under the rubric of the *Book Annexed* are only obligatory during Advent, he says, "Imagine their omission on Christmas Day!"

To this criticism there are several answers, any one of which may be held to be sufficient. In the first place, it should be remembered that into the Committee's plan of enrichment there entered the element of differentiation. The closing portion of the *Venite* has a special appropriateness to Lent; the closing portion of the *Benedictus* a special appropriateness to Advent.

Moreover, if any congregations desire the whole of

these two canticles throughout the year, there is nothing in the rubrics of the *Book Annexed* to forbid such an enjoyment of them. They *may* be sung in full always; but only in Lent in the one case, and in Advent in the other, *must* they be so sung. The Revision Committee was informed, on what was considered the highest authority, that in the Church of England the *Benedictus*, on account of its length, had been very generally disused. But, however this may be, there can be little doubt that the effort after restoration would have failed completely in the late Convention, had the use of these two canticles in full been insisted upon by the promoters of revision.

There is less of verbal criticism in *The Guardian's* review than could have been wished, for any suggestions with respect to inaccuracies of style or rhythmical shortcomings would have been most welcome from the pen of so competent a censor. Attention is called to the unmusical flow of language in the alternative Confession provided for the Evening Office; the figurative features of the proposed Collect for Maundy-Thursday are characterised as infelicitous; and the Collect provided for the Feast of the Transfiguration is declared to be inferior to the corresponding one in the Sarum Breviary.

Of this sort of criticism, at the hands of men who know their craft, the *Book Annexed* cannot have too much. In fact, of such immeasurable importance is good English in this connection, that it would be no hardship were every separate clause of whatever formulary it may be proposed to engraft upon the Prayer-book to be subjected to the most searching tests.

Let an epoch be agreed upon, if necessary, that shall serve as the criterion of admissibility for words and phrases. Let it be decided, for instance, that no word that cannot prove an Elizabethan parentage, or, if this be too severe a standard, then no word of post-Caroline origin, shall be admitted within the sacred precincts. Probably there are words in the *Book Annexed* which such a canon would eject; but let us have them pointed out, and their merits and demerits discussed. Such

criticism would be of infinitely more value to the real interests of revision than those vague and general charges of "crudeness" and "want of finish" which it is always so easy to make and sometimes so difficult to illustrate.

The writer in *The Guardian* closes an only too brief commentary upon what the Convention has laid before the Church with the following words:

Many of the proposals now in question are excellent; but others will be improved by reconsideration in the light of fuller ritual study, such as will be seen to produce a more exact and cultured ritual *αἰσθησις*, perhaps we may, without offence, add, a more delicate appreciation of rhythm. What the *Book Annexed* presents to us in the way of emendation is, on the whole, good; but, if subjected to a deliberate recension, it would, we predict, become still better. If thus improved by the Convention of 1886, it might be finally adopted by the Convention of 1889.

This conspectus of English critical opinion would be incomplete were no account to be made of the utterances of the various writers and speakers who dealt with the general subject of liturgical revision at the recent Church Congress at Portsmouth.

The Book Annexed could scarcely ask a more complete justification than is supplied by these testimonies of men who at least may be supposed to be acquainted with the needs of the Church of England.

The following catena, made up from three of the four papers* read upon the Prayer Book, gives a fair notion of the general tone of the discussion. It will be worth any one's while to collate it with the thirty Resolutions that make up the *Notification to the Dioceses*.

"Can it be seriously doubted that there are requirements of this age which are not satisfied by the provision for public worship made in the sixteenth century? Can any really suppose that the compilers of that brief manual, the Prayer Book, however proud we may rightly be of their work, were so gifted with inspired foresight as to save the Church of future ages the responsibilities of considering and supplying the devotional wants of successive generations?"

*The paper read by the Dean of Worcester dealt exclusively with the legal aspects of the question as it concerns the Church of England.

Who has not felt the scantiness of holy association in our Sunday and week-day worship? . . . Much, I know, has been supplied by our hymnology, which has progressed nobly in proportion as the meagreness of our liturgical provision has been realised. But beyond hymns we need actual forms of service, which shall strike the ear and touch the heart by fresh and vivid adaptations of God's Word to the great mysteries of the Gospel faith. . . . After-services on Sunday evenings have of late grown common; for them we need also the aid of regular and elastic forms.

Most deplorably have we felt the need of intercessory services for Home and Foreign Missions; and, though there are beautiful metrical litanies which bear directly on these and other objects, yet these are not sufficient, and of course are limited to times when a good and strong choir can be secured; . . . and, further, we want very simple forms of prayer to accompany addresses given in homes and mission rooms.*

I declare it as my conviction, after many years of (I hope) a not indolent ministry, and of many opportunities of observation and experiment, that the Church stands in pressing and immediate need of a few rearrangements and adaptations of some of her Offices; also of an enormous number of supplementary Offices or services—some for frequent use, others for occasional purposes within the consecrated buildings; and that besides these there is need of a supply of special Offices for the use of a recognised lay agency outside of the church edifices.

Why limit our introductory sentences to seven deprecatory texts? . . . Why can we not introduce the anthem used on Easter-day, instead of the *Venite*, throughout the Octave; or at least on Easter Monday and Tuesday? Would not spiritual life be deepened and intensified, and, best of all, be strengthened, by the use in the same manner of a suitable anthem instead of the *Venite* on Advent Sundays, on Christmas-day, at Epiphany, on Ash-Wednesday, on Good Friday, during Rogation days, at Ascensiontide, and on harvest festivals and the special annual Church festival of the year?

I submit that an enrichment of the Book of Common Prayer is also required. For although, as already suggested, this may be provided to some extent by a Collect for occasional use before the final prayer of Morning Prayer or Evensong, the needs of the Church will not be fully supplied without some complete additional offices. Certainly an additional service for Sunday afternoon and evening. . . . The times are very solemn, and we must wait no longer. . . . We have talked for nearly twenty-five years—not vainly, I believe—but let us “go and do” not a little in the next five years. . . . Prove yourself to be of the Church of God, by doing all the work of the Church, and in the

* The Rev. Edgar Morris Dumbleton (Rector of S. James', Exeter).

proper way. Proclaim before our God by your actions and your activities, and by providing all that is needed, not only for churchmen, but for earnest Christians who are not churchmen, and for the poor, weary sinners who are living as if there were neither Church nor SAVIOUR, such services for the one, and such means for drawing the others to CHRIST, that they all may become one in Him. And for all this you must have (as I think):

1. Possibly a small rearrangement of existing services.
2. Variety and additions in some of these services.
3. Enrichment by many services supplementary.
4. Services for use by laymen.

I wish to alarm none, but I wish we were all astir, for there is no time to wait.*

I should like to suggest, if it seems desirable, as it does to me, to make any further variation from the original arrangement of Morning Prayer, that on such days as Easter-day, Whit-Sunday, and Ascension-day we should begin in a little different fashion than we do now.

Is it always needful to begin on such great days of rejoicing for Christians with the *same* sentences and the *same* Exhortation and Confession, and have to wait, so to speak, to give vent to our feelings till we reach the special Psalms for the day? Might we not on such days accept the glorious facts, and begin with some special and appropriate Psalm or anthem? . . . Thus we should at once get the great doctrine of the day, and be let to rejoice in it at the very outset, and then go on to the LORD'S Prayer and the rest as we have it now. Confession of sin and absolution are not left out in the services of the day, as, of course, they occur in the Holy Communion; but leaving them out in the ordinary services, and beginning in the way suggested, would at one and the same time mark the day more clearly, and give opportunity for Christian gladness to show itself. . . . Only one other alteration would, I think, be needed, namely, that a good selection of Psalms be made, and used, as in the American Church, at the discretion of the minister. I think all must feel that for one reason or another all the Psalms are not adapted for the ordinary worship of a mixed congregation; and this plan would ease the minds of many clergy and laity. Also copying the American Church, it would be well to omit the Litany on Christmas-day, Easter-day, and Whit-Sunday.*

In the light of this summary of Anglican *desiderata*, compiled by wholly friendly hands, it is plain that whatever we may do in this country in the line of liturgical

* The Rev. George Venables (Hon. Canon of Norwich and Vicar of Great Yarmouth).

† The Rev. Arthur James Robinson (Rector of Whitechapel).

revision, always supposing it to be gravely and carefully done, instead of harming, ought marvellously to help the real interests of the Church of England. Certain principles of polity adopted in our own Church a century ago, and notably among them those affecting the legislative rights of the laity in matters ecclesiastical, are beginning to find tardy recognition in the England of the present. Possibly a hundred years hence, or sooner, a like change of mind may bring English Churchmen to the approval of liturgical methods which, even if not wholly consonant to the temper of the Act of Uniformity, have nevertheless been found useful and effective in the work of bringing the truth and the power of God to bear upon the common life of a great nation. The Church of England is to-day moving on toward changes and chances of which she sees enough already to alarm and not yet enough to reassure her. The dimness of uncertainty covers what may yet turn out to be the Mount of her Transfiguration, and she fears as she enters into the cloud. How shall we best and most wisely show our sympathy? By passing resolutions of condolence? By childish commiseration, the utterance of feigned lips, upon the approaching sorrows of disestablishment? Not thus at all, but rather by a courageous and well-considered pioneering work, which shall have it for its purpose to feel the ground and blaze the path which presently she and we may find ourselves treading in company. Tied as she is, for her an undertaking of this sort is impossible. We can show her no greater kindness than by entering upon it of our own motion and alone.

(b) *American.*

Criticism at home has been abundant ; much of it intelligent and helpful, and by no means so much of it as might have been expected captious. Of what may be called official reviews there have been three, one from the Diocese of Central New York, one from the Diocese of Wisconsin, and one from the Diocese of Easton. It is understood that committees of still other diocesan con-

ventions and councils have similar reviews in preparation. The subject has also been dealt with in carefully-prepared essays published from time to time in THE CHURCH REVIEW and *The Church Eclectic*, while in the case of the weekly journals the treatment of the topic has been so frequent and so full that a mere catalogue of the editorial articles and contributed communications in which, during the two years last past, liturgical revision has been discussed would overtax the limits of the present paper.

The only practicable means of dealing with this mass of criticism is to adopt the inductive method, and to seek to draw out from the utterances of these "many voices" the four or five distinct concepts that severally lie behind them.

In limine, however, let this be said, that the broadest generalisation of all is one to which the very discordance of the critics bears the best possible witness. Of a scheme of revision against which is pressed, in Virginia,* the charge of Mariolatry; in Ohio,† the charge of Latitudinarianism; and in Wisconsin,‡ the charge of Puritanic pravity, this much may at least be said, that it possesses the note of fairness. From henceforth suggestions of partisan bias are clearly out of order.

The Anglo-Catholic censures of the *Book Annexed* are substantially summed up in the charge that due regard is not had, in the changes proposed, to the structural principles of liturgical science. In the exceedingly well-written if somewhat one-sided document already referred to as the Wisconsin Report, this is, throughout, the burden of the complaint. The accomplished author of the Report, than whom no one of the critics at home or abroad has shown a keener or a better cultivated liturgical instinct, is afraid that a free use of all the liberties permitted by the new rubrics of the daily offices would so revolutionise Morning and Evening Prayer as practically to ob-

* See letter of "J. L. W." in *The Southern Churchman* for August 6, 1885.

† See letter of "Ritualist" in *The Standard of the Cross* for July 2, 1885.

‡ See the Report of the Committee of the Council of the Diocese of Wisconsin, *passim*.

literate the line of their descent from the old monastic forms. If there were valid ground for such an expectation the alarm might be justifiable, but is there? The practical effect of the rubrics that make for abbreviation will be to give us back, on week-days almost exactly, and with measurable precision on Sundays also, the Matins and Evensong of the First Book of Edward VI. Surely this is not the destruction of continuity with the pre-Reformation Church.

In his dislike of the provision for grafting the Beatitudes upon the Evening Prayer, the author of the Wisconsin Report will find many to agree with him, the present writer among them; but in his fear that in the introduction of the Proem to the Song of the Three Children, as a possible respond to the First Lesson, there lurks a covert design to dethrone the *Te Deum*, he will have few sympathisers save such as may be recruited from the ranks of professional alarmists.*

But, after all, may not this scrupulous regard for the precedents set us in the old service-books be carried too far? It is wholesome, but there is a limit to the wholesomeness of it. We remember who it was that made war for the sake of "a scientific frontier." Some of the scientific frontiers in the region of liturgics are as illusory as his was. For example, the *Book Annexed* may be "unscientific" in drawing as largely as it does on the language of the Apocalypse for versicles and responses. There has certainly been a departure from Anglican precedent in this regard. And yet it would scarcely seem that we could go far astray in borrowing from the liturgy of Heaven, whether there be earthly precedent or not.

Cranmer and his associates made a far bolder break

* The evident intention of the Joint Committee in the introduction of this canticle was to make it possible to shorten the Morning Prayer on week-days, without spoiling the structure of the office, as is now often done, by leaving out one of the Lessons. It is certainly open to question whether a better alternate might not have been provided, but it is surprising to find so accomplished a scholar as the Wisconsin critic speaking of the *Benedictus es Domine* as a liturgical novelty, "derived neither from the Anglican or the more ancient service-books." As a matter of fact the *Benedictus es Domine* was sung daily in the Ambrosian Rite at Matins, and is found also in the Mozarabic Breviary.

with the old office-books than the *Book Annexed* makes with the Standard Common Prayer. The statement of the Wisconsin Report, that "The Reformers of the English Church did not venture to write new Offices of Prayer," must be taken with qualifications. They did not make offices absolutely *de novo*, but they did condense and combine old offices in a manner that practically made a new thing of them. They took the monastic services and courageously remoulded them into a form suitable for the new era in which monasteries were to exist no longer.

Happily, they were so thorough in their work that comparatively little change is called for in adapting what they fitted to the needs of the XIV. century to the more varied requirements of the XIX. Still, when they are quoted as conservatives, and we are referred for evidence of their dislike of change to that particular paragraph of the Preface to the English Prayer Book entitled *Concerning the Service of the Church*,* it is worth our while to follow up the reference and see what is actually there said. The Wisconsin Committee use very soft words in speaking of the mediæval perversions and corruptions of Divine Service. "It was in the monasteries chiefly," they tell us, "that these services received the embellishments and wonderful variety which we find in the later centuries." But the following is the cruel manner in which in the English Preface, cited as authority the "embellishment" and "wonderful variety" are characterised:

But these many years past, this godly and ancient order of the ancient fathers hath been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories, and legends, with multitudes of responses, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations, and synodals, that commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, after three or four chapters were read out all the rest were unread.

. . . And furthermore, notwithstanding that the ancient Fathers have divided the Psalms into seven portions, whereof every one was called a Nocturn, now of late time a few of them have been daily said and the rest utterly omitted. . . . So

* See Wisconsin Report, p. 5.

that here you have an Order for Prayer and for the reading of the Holy Scripture much agreeable to the mind and purposes of the old Fathers, and a great deal more profitable and commodious than that which of late was used.

This is conservatism in the very best sense, for the object aimed at is plainly the conservation of purity, simplicity, and truth, but surely it is not the conservatism of men with whom inaction is the only wisdom and immobility the sole beatitude.

We change our sky completely in passing from Anglo-Catholic to Broad Church criticism of the *Book Annexed*. This last has, in the main, addressed itself to the rubrical features of the proposed revision. "You promised us 'flexibility,'" the accusation runs, "but what you are really giving us is simply rigidity under a new form. Let things stay as they are, and we will undertake to find all the 'flexibility' we care to have without help from legislation."

This criticism has at least the merit of intelligibility, for it directly antagonises what was, without doubt, one main purpose with the revisers, namely, that of reviving respect for the rubrics by making compliance with their terms a more practicable thing.

Evidently what Broad Churchmen, or at least a section of them, would prefer is the prevalence of a general consent under which it shall be taken for granted that rubrics are not literally binding on the minister, but are to be stretched and adapted, at the discretion of the officiant, as the exigencies of times and seasons may suggest. It is urged that such a common understanding already in great measure exists; and that to enact new rubrics now, or to remodel old ones, would look like an attempt to revivify a principle of compliance which we have tacitly agreed to consider dead.

The answer to this argument is not far to seek. If the Church means to allow the Common Prayer, which hitherto has been regarded as a liturgy, to lapse into the *status* of a directory; if, in other words, she is content to see her manual of worship altered from a book of instructions as to how Divine Service *shall* be performed

into a book of suggestions as to how it *may* be rendered, the change ought to be officially and definitely announced, and not left to individual inference or uncertain conjecture. We are rapidly slipping into a position scarcely consistent with either the dignity or the honor of a great Church—that of seeming to be what we are not. To give it out to the public that we are a law-respecting communion, and then to whisper it about among ourselves that our laws bind only those who choose to be bound by them, may serve as a convenient device for “tiding over” a present difficulty, but is, on the whole, a course of procedure more likely to harden than to relieve tender consciences.

Take, by way of illustration, the case of a city Clergyman who would gladly introduce into his parish the usage of daily service, but who is convinced, whether rightly or wrongly, that to secure even a fair attendance of worshippers, he ought to have the liberty of so far condensing the Morning or the Evening Office as to bring it within the limits of a quarter of an hour. He seeks relief through the lawful channel of rubrical revision, and is only laughed at for his pains. In this busy XIX century it is nonsense, he is assured, to spend a dozen years in besieging so obdurate a fortress as the General Convention. The way to secure “shortened services” is to shorten services. This is easy logic, and applicable in more directions than one. Only see how smoothly it runs;—If you want hymns that are not in the Hymnal, print them. If you want a confessional-box, set it up. If you want a “reserved sacrament,” order the carpenter to make a tabernacle and the locksmith to provide a bolt.* This is a far less troublesome method of securing the ends desired than the tedious and roundabout process of proposing a change at one meeting of the General Convention, having your proposal knocked about among some forty or fifty dioceses, and brought up for final action three years later.

* See the precautions recommended in *The Living Church Annual* for 1886, p. 132, Art. *Tabernacle*.

And yet, superior as the former method may be to the latter in point of celerity and directness, the latter has certain advantages over the former that ought to be evident to men who are not frightened by having their scrupulousness called scrupulosity.

Moreover, why should this whole matter be discussed, as so commonly it is discussed, wholly from the clerical side? Have the laity no rights in the liturgy which the Clergy are bound to respect? When and where did the Protestant Episcopal Church confer on its ministers a general dispensing power over the ordinances of worship which it withheld from the body of the faithful?

Heretofore it has been held that when a layman went to church he had a right to expect certain things guaranteed him by the Church's law. If all this has been changed, then formal notice ought to be served upon us by the General Convention that such is the fact.

THE MOTIVE OF THE EFFORT AFTER REVISION.

It is asked, and with no little show of plausibility, Why—in the face of such manifold hostility and such persistent opposition, why press the movement for revision any further? Is it worth while to divide public sentiment in the Church upon a question that looks to many to be scarcely more than a literary one? Why not drop the whole thing, and let it fall into the limbo, where lie already the *Proposed Book* and the *Memorial Papers*? For this reason, and it is sufficient: There has arisen in America a movement toward Christian unity the like of which has not been seen since the country was settled. It is the confident belief of many that the key to the situation lies with that Church which more truly than any other may be said to represent the historical Christianity of the peoples of English stock. One of the elements in this larger movement is the question of the form of worship. The chief significance of the *Book Annexed* lies in the claim made for it by its friends, that more adequately than the present Standard it supplies what

may fairly be demanded as their manual of worship by a people circumstanced like ours. While, in one sense, more English than the present book, in that it restores liturgical treasures lost at the Revolution, it is also more thoroughly American, in that it recognises and allows for many needs which the newly-enfranchised colonists of 1789 could not have been expected to foresee.

The question is, Shall we turn a cold shoulder on the movement Churchward of our non-Anglican brethren of the reformed faith, doing our best to chill their approaches with a hard *Non possumus*, or shall we go out to meet them with words of welcome on our lips? Union under the "Latin obedience" is impossible. For us, in the face of the decrees of 1870, there can be "no peace with Rome." The Greeks are a good way off. Our true "solidarity," if "solidarity" is to be achieved at all, is not with Celts, but with our own kith and kin, the children of the Reformation. Is it wise of us to say to these fellow Christians of ours, adherents of the Catholic Faith as well as we, "Nay, but the nearer you draw to us the farther we mean to draw away from you; the more closely you approximate to Anglican religion, the more closely shall we, for the sake of differencing ourselves from you, approximate to Vatican religion?"

In better harmony with the Apostolic temper, in truer continuity with the early Churchmanship, should we be found, were we to join voices thus:

V. Come ye, and let us walk in the light of the LORD.

R. And He will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths.

WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON.

BISHOP PERRY'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587—
1885. By WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D., LL.D.,
Bishop of Iowa. Projected by CLARENCE F. JEWETT.
Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1885.

IT is perhaps a fair matter of discussion, whether the plan upon which this REVIEW is at present conducted is an improvement upon the plan which in former times was customary. In most particulars, no doubt, the plan of the periodical in which these words appear is better now than ever it was, not to say better than that of others which might be named. But in regard to the custom of having every article in the REVIEW appear over the proper signature of its author, instead of under the ponderous impersonality of an editor, it may be doubted whether it is entirely advantageous. It professes to secure immunity from undue and provoking personalities, and to furnish a certain safeguard against error by making every writer responsible for what he writes. Perhaps it does. But these and other advantages are counterbalanced by the disadvantage that, after all, whatever is said is nothing but individual opinion. When an editor speaks as editor, without any savour of personal existence, he is a truly awful entity. His condemnation is withering. His approval is worth having. But when an editor resolves himself into H. M. B., or J. S., or abdicates the throne of his sovereignty in favor of Dr. S. or Mr. P., he is no longer the arbiter of literary destinies; no longer the director of public opinion, but only takes his place on the floor

among a number of disputants, and become in the eyes of the reader a more or less commonplace individual, with whom the reader presumes to agree or disagree quite at his own pleasure. Such presumption in old times was rare indeed. Even the author was fain to succumb under the adverse editorial judgment; and to pass the criticism of the reviews was an ordeal of life and death to a book. What review stops the sale of a book now? The most scathing criticism, the most thorough riddling that a book can have, resolves itself in its last analysis into the individual opinion of the writer. And then, if personality in the way of satire and recrimination is lessened, personality in the way of egotism stands a fair chance of being largely increased. And in fact the tendency of book reviews appears to be now strongly toward a liberal airing of the writer's views on various matters, more or less remotely connected with the subject of the volume under review, with a comparatively limited exhibition of the author's mind.

After a prelude of this sort I presume the reader may be anticipating a somewhat egotistical treatment of the present theme. Perhaps he will not be disappointed. And yet, since what is said with reference to the volumes under consideration, is written under the persuasion that it will be regarded as nothing better than the opinion of the writer, this circumstance will possibly prove some protection to the reader. On the other hand, since private opinion is always liable to be affected by personal influences to which the pure editorial mind cannot be imagined to be subjected, it may be no more than proper frankness to confess that, in the present case, the writer's judgment has been subjected to so severe a strain as to make it likely that he would be an unfavorable critic; and to warn the reader accordingly, that he should be on his guard against too readily accepting conclusions which have been drawn by a prejudiced mind. It is not necessary to relate the fable of the fox and the grapes, in order to illustrate the feelings of one who was to have been embalmed in history along with

the distinguished writers of the monographs, which make up a large portion of these volumes, but who, on examination of them, finds himself abandoned to the oblivion proper to his own natural obscurity. Let me rather state, without parable, that, having, on the invitation of the author of these volumes, prepared, with some four weeks of labor, a paper which was by courtesy to have been called a monograph; and having given my best endeavors to the construction of a suitable autograph, with which the paper, after the manner of all genuine manufactures, was, according to the taste of the publishers I presume, to have been labelled, I reposed in a fond assurance that my place in history was secure. But when I looked for myself in this Ecclesiastical Kingdom, which, out of deference to the wish of the author, I had undertaken to review—Alas! Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and almost every other person from the four points of the compass sat there; and I myself was clean thrust out.* What could be expected in the way of unprejudiced criticism from a reviewer under such circumstances as these! Doubtless it will be safe for me to avoid criticism, and to confine myself to what, after all, is the proper province of a personal reviewer, and endeavor to convey to those to whom these pages may come, and who may not have had opportunity to see the book itself, some idea of what it contains. Such disagreeable remarks as I may, by the way, be betrayed into making, will readily be attributed by the discriminating reader to their true cause.

The conventional treatment of the matter in hand requires some attention to be paid to the outside of the book to be described. The conventional phrase, that the elegance of the volumes is such as might be expected from the reputation of the publishers, I cheerfully adopt. But since that, like some other conventional phrases, is both equivocal and vague, it may be well to add that the book consists of two large volumes, each

* Dr. Seabury's monograph and several others, by Bishop Stevens, the Rev. John Henry Hopkins, D.D., the Rev. Wm. M. Beaucamp, and the Rev. J. A. Gillfillan, have been published in the *CHURCH REVIEW*.—ED.

of which measures eleven inches in length, by eight in width, and two in thickness, and weighs between five and six pounds. The type in which the books are printed is such as to be a comfort to a man whose sight is not as good as it used to be, and the printed page is enshrined in a princely margin of two inches in width. Altogether the volumes are such as to be well suited for a handsome library—a library such as might belong to a wealthy man who desired to have his shelves supplied with authors so clothed as to be presentable among well-dressed people, and who would be willing to leave the selection of his books to his house furnisher. Such a man, if he ever desired to peruse the contents of the book, could afford to have a muscular valet to lift it down for him, and hold it up for inspection, and to him, therefore, the weight of the book would be no disadvantage. But persons of meaner resources, who may want a book for the purpose of reading it, will sigh for a future edition which will be more portable. Such externals are, of course, very much matters of taste, about which readers, authors, and publishers, not to say reviewers, may differ; but it might be worth the consideration of an enterprising publisher, whether it would not be a good plan, instead of making two such volumes of a book like this, to make three volumes, two of which might contain the printed matter, and the third the margins.

Most books are born of authors and publishers, with, perhaps, the nursing aid of editors, or translators; but more than ordinary parentage was required to bring this book into the world. It was not only written and printed, but likewise projected: "PROJECTED BY CLARENCE F. JEWETT." Projection appears to be a new departure in literature; and the term is presumed to refer in the present instance, not to any use of the volumes by Mr. Jewett after their publication, nor to his method of dealing with surplus monographs, but to the original conception of the idea which resulted in the production of the work.

The work is with great propriety respectfully inscribed

to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primus of the Scottish Church, and the Presiding Bishop of the Church in this country. The need of the work is indicated by the fact stated in the preface, that the only accessible history of the Church in these United States, as a whole, is the summary of our annals written nearly half a century ago, by the celebrated Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford and of Winchester, although many works have been written giving the history of the Church in various localities and periods. Acknowledgment is made of good work done in this kind, especially by the late Rev. Dr. Hawks, the first historiographer of the Church, in his history of the Church in Virginia and Maryland, and by the same learned writer in connection with his colleague and successor in the position of historiographer, the author of the present volumes, in the compilation of the Documentary History of the Church in Connecticut and other Colonies; and also by the venerable Bishop White in the preparation of his invaluable *Memoirs of the Church*. The work is composed partly of a general history written by Bishop Perry, and partly of historical sketches, called monographs. Bishop Perry's function, therefore, appears to have been twofold: first, to write the history of the Church in this country, from the time of its first planting to the year 1883; and secondly, to edit the papers prepared in illustration of the history of particular periods and institutions. Why the history is marked as done "by the Editor," unless it be that he did not wish to lessen the force of the projection already mentioned, does not appear. There seems no reason why Bishop Perry should not be regarded as the author of the general history which the volumes contain, yet in both volumes this part of the work is attributed to the Editor. The meaning, it is to be presumed, is that the general historical parts of the book were written by the same person who edited the special papers; but it seems more natural that the writer of the history should be called the Author, and that the Editorial function should be regarded as an appendage to that of authorship.

In the first volume of this work the author treats of the planting and growth of the American Colonial Church; and in the second volume he treats of the organisation and progress of the American Church. The first volume has twenty-four chapters, and, more or less directly illustrative of the subjects of these, eight monographs. The second volume contains twenty-five chapters and eleven monographs; some of these monographs in both volumes being composed of several other monographs—wheels within wheels. The proportion of the auctorial to the editorial is, in the first volume, as 468 to 197; and, in the second volume, as 382 to 268—that is, in the matter of pages; and both the history and the monographs are printed in the same clear and handsome style. In each of the various chapters the author treats the subject of the chapter in the manner of narrative, constantly referring to sources of information, and frequently setting forth at length the text of important letters and papers; and then, in addition to this account of his subject, he appends to each chapter several pages, entitled, as the case may be, “critical notes and illustrations;” “critical notes on the sources of information;” “notes, critical and biographical,” etc.; these appendices being in somewhat smaller type than the text, but very clear and readable. This closing up of the subject of each chapter with a minute consideration of the authorities bearing upon it, making each chapter a little book with its own appendix, is an excellent help to the mastery of the contents of the work, and greatly facilitates references to it. This and many other characteristics of the work demonstrate the substantial advantages to every author of having a good projector. Certainly no one should ever write another history without having it properly projected; and, if no man be fit to be a judge in his own case, how should he be trusted to do his own projecting.

In this connection, and still commenting upon the superficial contents of this work, it cannot be amiss to refer to the wealth of illustration which characterises it. It is not only adorned with illustrations, but swarms with

them. It is a collection at once of historical portraits; of family arms and corporate seals; of autographs; of fac-similes; of maps; of exteriors and interiors of churches and other buildings; and even of things portable. That this treatment of the subject adds inestimably to the value and interest of the work need not be said. And as these illustrations are of the best possible character, as well as of the widest range, they leave hardly anything to be desired in this kind.

It would be ungrateful not to acknowledge with admiration the facilities for examination of the several parts of this work furnished both by the analysis of the chapters in the beginning, and the index at the end, which latter appears to be a marvel of industrious precision. But why particularise the index, when this is the character of the whole work. The book is a monument of learning in its own department; of laborious industry; of endless research, and patient investigation; of calmness, impartiality, and good temper; of trustworthiness in regard to facts; and of elegance of style. The knowledge not only of events, but of the books, papers, pamphlets, and periodicals containing contemporaneous accounts of these events; the readiness of remembrance of these in order to reference and quotation; the labor of unearthing, gathering, assorting, examining, and copying such material; the familiarity with the secular history corresponding to the ecclesiastical; the grasp of the whole of the immense field before the author, and the minute attention to the smallest detail in it; the correspondence with the living, added to the handling and understanding of the literary remains of the dead—if one can form any idea of what is involved in these, he may be able to appreciate what the author has done. Without some experience of this kind of work, it will be impossible for any one to conceive of the ability which the author has shown in the construction of this book. To say that the work has been produced in less than three years, by a Bishop who presides over a Diocese of the extent of 51,000 square miles, and who not only presides over it, but attends to it as well, and who is as thor-

oughly involved in all the resultant cares and labors of the Episcopate as is any of his brethren, is to say what can but increase the admiration with which one beholds this fruit of his literary labors. It is not of course to be imagined, that the time within which this work has been produced, includes the time unconsciously devoted by the author to his previous preparation for it. But this does not detract from the honor due to his ability ; and, on the other hand, should increase our appreciation of his fitness for the task imposed upon him. It is not every man who, when called to give public proof of the extent and thoroughness of even his favorite studies, could furnish such satisfactory evidence. The author has been long known to the Church as officially its Historiographer, as personally devoted to the interests of American Church History, and as a diligent explorer and collector of all material bearing upon it. All this he might be with very superficial knowledge ; but this book shows that he has not only found and collected, but that he has also absorbed and assimilated what he has gathered. That his treatment of all the various matters referred to in this book is, in each case, what it should be, it is not necessary to say ; and probably would be true of no author if it were said. But this author certainly treats his whole subject in all its details with caution, candor, and a proper sense of responsibility ; and, besides, furnishes the reader constantly with the opportunity of verifying his statements, and of drawing, from the same evidence which he has adduced, either the same or a different conclusion, as his own judgment may direct him. Almost any chapter in the book will suggest something of the labors of the author in respect to the consultation of authorities. The first chapter, taken for convenience, shows, in a space of fourteen and a half pages, of which about five may fairly be allowed for portraits and autographs, twenty-one references. And then, as to such matters as autographs, portraits, seals, arms, etc., all of which look very pretty on a printed page, and seem to the unreflecting reader as if they had grown there, like wild flowers by the roadside, without anybody's exertion

—the trouble of getting them together in any great number, and the time consumed in the effort, are not to be estimated.

The difficulty of finding an extant descendant or collateral relative of some defunct notability of one, two, or three centuries ago, and of inducing such an one when found to part with some heirloom of his in the way of a portrait or book-plate long enough to have it copied, it is not easy to describe. It is a labor even to think of the envelopes that must have been directed, and the stamps that may have been tasted, not to speak of the letters written and read, and the personal interviews experienced, in order to the end attained by the author in this respect.

The plantation and growth of the American Colonial Church forms, as has been said, the author's theme for the first volume of his work. In his treatment of this theme he gives an account of the several steps in the discovery and settlement of the Western continent by English voyagers, under the auspices of English patrons, and claims that in the process of colonisation the Church went hand in hand with the State, the Cross being planted in newly acquired possessions with the arms of England at its foot. In support of this claim the author goes patiently through the various voyages and plantations, laying hold of every evidence which the narratives supply of the presence of English Clergymen as chaplains, and of the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*; and, in the course of his record, he states many facts which are not to be reconciled with the popular theory, that the Church of England came into the Colonies of England as the successor either of the adherents of the Pope or of Puritans who had discarded the order of the Church in which they were born. Nothing, of course, can antedate or exceed claims such as those which are founded on the award by the Popes of Rome, to Portugal of all the new world lying east of an imaginary line drawn from pole to pole a hundred leagues West of the Azores, and to Spain of all the new world lying west of that line [p. 5, n.]; but when it comes to a ques-

tion of actual occupation, the case of proprietorship assumes a different form. That the sole motive of the first voyagers and colonists was to extend the jurisdiction of the Church of England can hardly be said; but that the motive included such extension is plain enough. The motive of most human actions is complex, and the case of the colonists and their patrons appears to furnish no exception. Beside the promptings of self-interest, there were the desire to Christianise the savages, and the burning to pre-occupy as much territory as possible so that it might be preserved from Spanish dominion, which also involved Roman obedience. And in the accomplishment of these purposes no other religious form and order were contemplated, at least in the first instance, than those of the Church of England. One or two references may illustrate the author's position as to these points. After speaking of the presence of certain Clergymen of the Church of England in this country before the Reformation in the XVI. century, the author continues :

But it was not destined that the Church of England, unreformed, should people with her sons and daughters these distant lands. A new spirit was to animate the nation ere the settlement of a land, designed in the providence of God to be the home of civil and religious liberty, was to be successfully attempted. It was thus that the English Church, delivered 'from the tyrannie' of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, purified in the fiery furnace of the Marian persecutions from Romish error, as well as freed from Romish rule, entered upon the work of adding new realms to the dominion of the Cross with the same intrepidity and tireless zeal which inspired the adventures of English captains sailing out in quest of mines, or fisheries, or furs. Discovery and settlement became, in fact, acts of faith. The spirit in which these expeditions were undertaken is plainly disclosed in the instructions prepared by the venerable Sebastian Cabot, as governor 'of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants adventurers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and places unknown,' under the direction of King Edward VI., for the expedition under Sir Hugh Willoughby, despatched in 1553, to attempt the discovery of the northern passage to Cathay. These brave explorers . . . had with them 'Master Richard Stafford, Minister;' and the three ships, of 160, 120, and 90 tons burden respectively, made up, as Fuller, in his 'Worthies,' tells us, 'the first reformed fleet which had English prayers and preaching therein.'

It was strictly enjoined in Cabot's code of instructions, 'that the Morning and Evening Prayer, with other common services appointed by the King's majestie and lawes of this realme, be read and saide in every ship daily, by the minister in the admiral, and the marchant, or some other person learned, in the other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honour, and for His grace to be obtained and had by humble and heartie praier of the Navigants accordingly.' . . . 'Good order' in the 'daily service,' and prayers unto God for success, were enjoined in the instructions given to the voyagers sent out . . . at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. . . . In the name and fear of God did these old explorers and adventurers put forth upon the almost unknown sea. The Body and Blood of CHRIST was their *vaticum*, and the last home words that fell upon their ears were the prayers and praises of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The Cross, with the arms of England at its foot, marked their discoveries and their chosen sites of settlement; and the words of their English Book of Prayer were said at morn and even wherever these dauntless voyagers pursued their way—North, till the impenetrable ice barred their path; South, till the farthest points of both hemispheres were reached; West, till in the broad rivers and inland seas of the New World they dreamed of finding a speedier way to Cathay and the spice-yielding East. Everywhere these sailors and settlers went, till the fame of England's Queen and the faith of England's reformed Church were known throughout the world. Each new acquisition of the unknown land lying in the direction of the setting sun was so much virgin soil rescued from Spanish thralldom and Rome's inquisitorial sway [pp. 2-5].

While Wolfall, the minister and preacher appointed by her majesty's council to accompany Frobisher's Expedition, in 1578, was making sermons and celebrating communions among the ice-fields of the North on the Eastern side of the American Continent, Drake and his followers, exploring the Pacific, on the Western side of the Continent, discovered, in 1579, the coast of Oregon and that part of California which now belongs to the United States, holding a solemn service in the presence of the natives on the feast of S. John the Baptist, or its eve, in that year.

It was thus that the Church's prayers were first heard on the Pacific Coast; and, in taking solemn possession, by the planting of the Cross with the arms of England affixed thereto, of 'New Albion' for England's Queen, the far West of our national domain was claimed for the Church of the English-speaking race. To

Francis Fletcher . . . belongs the honor of being the first in English orders who ministered the Word and Sacraments within the territory of the United States; and if, as is probable, the 'fayre and good baye' . . . where the events referred to occurred was the Bay of San Francisco, it was on this spot that the words of the Common Prayer were first heard on the Pacific coast [p. 8].

It may readily be supposed that this method of treating his theme takes the author through a multiplicity of details, in which it is impossible here to follow him. The perusal of them is full of interest, and increases the wonder at his intimate knowledge of all that bears directly or indirectly upon his subject. Extracts are given merely to illustrate his method, and to indicate the drift of his process as to the matter of preoccupation. His sketch of the labors and misfortunes of those who first settled on the coast of Maine (bearing in the opposite direction, and particularly interesting) concludes with these words:

Short as was their residence on the bleak coast of Maine, they have won their place in history as the first settlers of New England. They laid the foundations of State and Church at the North a year before the men of Leyden signed their solemn 'compact' in the cabin of the Mayflower, in Plymouth Harbor, and began on a soil to which they had no claim, and without the presence of a minister of their own faith, the civil and religious history of Puritan New England [p. 38].

In the same way is traced the history of the pioneers of the Church in other parts of New England; of services and sacraments in Raleigh's Colonies at Roanoke on the North Carolina coast; of the foundations of Church and State in Virginia; of the beginnings of the Church in Maryland, New York, and the middle Colonies; of the planting of the Church in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and in Georgia and South Carolina. Interspersed with these accounts are the stories of various efforts in the direction of the higher education made under Church auspices, resulting in the establishment of the University of Henrico and the College of William and Mary in Virginia, of Kings College in New York, and the College and Academy at Philadelphia.

Among the earlier Clergy of the Colony of Virginia,

one, the Reverend Dr. Bargrave, settled at Henrico, and, dying in 1621, left

his library, valued at one hundred marks, or seventy pounds sterling, to the College at Henrico, thus anticipating the act of the young Puritan minister of Charlestown, Mass., who, a few years later, left his loved books to the struggling College at Cambridge, and by that act gained a name and remembrance wherever 'Harvard' College is known. Would,

continues the author,

that 'Henrico' had been as long lived in its educational career, and that Bargrave's gift had won for him a life immortality [pp. 66, 67]!

The College at Henrico, however, seems to have shared the fate of the unfortunate race for whose benefit it was largely designed. In the institution of this College we see an endeavor to put in practice some of those professions which the colonists and their home patrons were liberal in making, that one of their chief designs in colonising was the carriage of GOD'S Word into heathen countries, and the conversion of poor infidels to the faith of CHRIST; the endeavor taking the form of such instruction to some of the Savages as might the better fit them for the life of Christian civilisation, and, perhaps, to become instruments for the conversion of their brethren.

In a plantation avowedly settled 'for the glorie of God in the propagation of the Gospell of CHRIST,' and for 'the conversion of the Savages,' there could not fail to be, from the first, the wish and purpose for the provision of some institution where the higher learning, then deemed indispensable to the exercise of the Ministry, could be obtained without recourse to the Universities of the Mother-land. The Church whose 'form of sounds words' was first heard on our American shores, conveying to heaven the devotions of men of English speech and lineage, was foremost in the effort to meet this acknowledged want. In this attempt to lay the foundations of an educational system, by the provision of a public school and College, the co-operation of the colonists themselves was secured at the very outset. To that remarkable assembly in the choir of the Church at Jamestown [see p. 67], on Friday, July 30, 1619, and from which, rather than to (from) the cabin and 'compact' of the Mayflower, we may date the founda-

tion of our popular government, we must look for the inauguration of efforts for popular and the higher education. It was in the course of its proceedings that measures were taken 'towards the erecting of the University and Colledge,' as well as for the education of Indian children, for whom, as well as for the sons of the settlers, their Seminaries of learning were designed. All this was in accordance with the will and purpose of the Council of Virginia in England, to which was intrusted the rule of the infant Commonwealth. The government of the Colony by Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the Virginia Company, under which the settlers had languished for twelve hopeless years, was scarcely over, when, at the incoming of Sir George Yeardley as Governor, orders were given for the establishment of a University in the Colony, with a college for the instruction of the Indian youth. In letters from the Council previous to the accession of the new Governor, reference is made to this design; but we must date the beginning of active measures for its accomplishment to the accession of the excellent Sir Edwin Sandys to the treasurership of the Company [p. 69].

The plan was largely favored and liberally aided. Thousands of pounds in money, Bibles, Prayer Books, and works of divinity, as well as books of instruction, were furnished; suitable provision was made for oversight and tuition; but the enterprise (including that of a public free school, which was to depend upon the "College in Virginia," but which was separately and largely endowed) came to an untimely end by reason of a terrible massacre by the Indians, and the sickness, famine, and general depression of the interests and hopes of the colonists which ensued.

The 'University of Henrico' and the 'East India Free School' were never to be built. In the words of Dr. Hawks, 'the massacre of Opecanconough thus gave a death-blow to the first efforts made in America for the establishment of a College, and years elapsed before the attempt was renewed. [p. 78].

The renewal of the attempt resulted in the establishment of the still enduring College of William and Mary, the account of which is given in the eighth and one of the most interesting chapters of this volume.

The founding of the Colleges in New York and Philadelphia, belonging to a much later period of time, about the middle of the XVIII. century, forms the subject of

a later chapter. The rise of these Colleges from a common movement, and the influence upon them of the interest and council and labors of such men as Bishop Berkeley, Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Samuel Johnson of Stratford, and Dr. William Smith are vividly portrayed [Ch. xxiii.]. From the correspondence between Dr. Johnson and Bishop Berkeley, it appears that the founding of a College in New York had been projected at least as early as 1749. In the same year a similar project was set on foot in Philadelphia, Franklin having sketched a plan for an institution of the higher learning in 1744, and issuing a pamphlet in 1749 entitled "Proposals relative to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania." Bishop Berkeley's suggestions were communicated to Franklin, who had visited Dr. Johnson and sought his acceptance of the charge of the proposed Academy. The desire that he should accept was earnestly supported by the Trustees, three-fourths of whom were members of the Church of England. Extracts are given by the author from Franklin's letters to Johnson in reply to the reasons of the latter for declining the position offered to him. One of Johnson's reasons was the insufficiency of the support offered, and his unwillingness to intrude upon the cure of Dr. Jenney in the endeavor to found a new parish in Philadelphia, which Franklin had suggested as a means to the end of increased income. Franklin's reply to this is characteristic:

Your tenderness of the Church's peace is truly laudable ; but, methinks, to build a new Church in a growing place is not properly dividing, but multiplying, and will really be a means of increasing the number of those who worship God in that way. Many who cannot now be accommodated in the Church go to other places or stay at home, and if we had another Church many who go to other places or stay at home would go to Church. I suppose the interest of the Church has been far from suffering in Boston by the building of two new Churches there within my memory. I had for several years nailed against the wall of my house a pigeon-box that would hold six pairs ; and, though they bred as fast as my neighbors' pigeons, I never had more than six pairs, the old and strong driving out the young and weak and

obliging them to seek new habitations. At length I put up an additional box, with apartments for entertaining twelve pairs more, and it was soon filled with inhabitants by the overflowing of my first box and of others in the neighborhood. This I take to be a parallel case with the building a new Church here [p. 430].

This was very ingenious, but Dr. Johnson, who had just completed a work explaining and enforcing Bishop Berkeley's system of Philosophy, was not to be prevailed upon by so realistic an argument as an ecclesiastical pigeon-box; and could only be induced to help on the Philadelphia Academy by advice and suggestions. His subsequent connection with and valuable services to Kings College are well known, and, of course, related by the author.

The Reverend William Smith, D.D., a native of and educated in Scotland, ordained Deacon and Priest in the Palace at Fulham by Bishops acting for the Bishop of London, on December 21 and 23, 1753 (there kneeling with Bishop Seabury, who received his Deacon's and Priest's orders at the same time), having previous to his ordination attracted Franklin's attention by a scheme of education which he had published in New York, in a pamphlet entitled "A General Idea of the College of Mirania," was, on May 24, 1754, "inducted Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia and Professor of Natural Philosophy;" and by his zealous and well-directed efforts to advance the interests of the Institution, both financial and educational, justly earned for himself the title of a Founder of the College.

It was his pleasure and privilege to watch over its interest till amidst the vicissitudes of the war for independence schools of learning were closed, and in the attempted organisation of its government after the civil disruption the rights of the College authorities were trampled upon and the Provost dispossessed from the place he had filled with so much honor and usefulness. He was never restored to his former privileges and powers, and it is only of late years that full justice has been rendered to him for his abundant and most useful services to the cause of Christian education and the advance of the higher learning in America [p. 445].

His career, however, was not closed, as may appear from a study of the organisation of the Church after the Revolution.

In connection with the Author's account of the endeavors to promote the cause of higher education under the guidance of Church influences, will be read with much interest the Monographs IV. and VI. of the first volume; the former by the Rev. Moses Coit Tyler, D.D., on Dean Berkeley's sojourn in America; and the latter by the Rev. E. E. Beardsley, D.D., on Yale College and the Church; while the later aspects of the same subject have received the attention, in a department of the Appendix to the second volume entitled Monograph VII., of the Rev. Eugene Augustus Hoffman, D.D., who gives a valuable sketch of the General Theological Seminary, which, under his auspices and influence, has been within the last few years re-created; of the Rev. George Z. Gray, D.D., who sketches the Episcopal Theological School, in Cambridge, Mass.; and of the Rev. Samuel Hart, D.D., who gives the history of Trinity College in Connecticut; S. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., Racine College, and the University of the South being respectively commemorated by the Rev. Hall Harrison, Mr. Arthur Piper, and the Rev. W. P. Du Bose, D.D.

Whatever may be alleged on the score of preoccupation, it is certain that the Church of England had a struggle for life in the Colonies of England under some of the greatest possible disadvantages. To the labors of those who devoted their lives to the advancement of the Church's welfare in this stage of its existence the author gives full attention. The state of the Church in America at the beginning of the XVIII. century is treated in the xi. chapter of the first volume; and in connection with it is described the foundation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which was, in the providence of God, to affect so largely the state of the Church in this country as to leave subsequent generations under the conviction that without its instrumentality that Church would have al-

most ceased to be. And in other parts of this volume the evils of the want of Bishops; the labors, trials, and services of those who were burdened, under the title of Commissaries, with the execution of such authority as might be delegated by the English Episcopate apart from the office of a Bishop; the struggle to obtain the Episcopate, fruitless throughout the whole Colonial period; the supplications to those who had this gift to bestow, and the urgent reasons by which these supplications were supported; the controversies with those who scorned this gift for themselves, and who begrudged to others the valued possession of that which they despised for themselves—all this story, familiar as it has now become in its outlines, is set forth with a fulness and definiteness which has never before characterised its relation.

It appears that outside of Virginia and Maryland there were not, at the beginning of the XVIII. century, half a dozen Clergymen of the Church in all the Colonies of North America; and that, including those provinces where the Church was legally established, the whole number of Priests of the Mother Church ministering on American shores, from Maine to Carolina, was considerably less than 50, probably not twoscore [p. 203].

Such is the testimony quoted by the author from one of the Commissaries just referred to. Another writer, quoted by the author, complaining of the low condition of religion in Virginia, where the Church was established by law, thus states the causes of it:

The ministers are most miserably handled by their plebeian Juntos, the Vesteries, to whom the living (that is the usual word there) and admission of Ministers is solely left. And, there being no law obliging them to any more than procure a lay reader (to be obtained at a very moderate rate), they either resolve to have none at all or reduce them to their own terms; that is, use them how they please, pay them what they list, and discard them whenever they have a mind to it. . . . Two-thirds of the preachers are made up of readers, lay priests of the Vesteries' ordination; and are both the shame and the grief of the rightly ordained clergie there. . . . Laymen were allowed to usurp the Office of Ministers, and Deacons to undermine and thrust out Presbyters; in a word, all things concerning the Church and religion were left to the mercy of the people. . . . To propagate

Christianity among the heathen—whether natives or slaves brought from other parts—although (as must piously be supposed) it were the only end of God's discovering those countries to us, yet is that lookt upon by our new race of Christians so idle and ridiculous that no man can forfeit his judgment more than by any proposal looking or tending that way [p. 204].

Such (remarks the author) was the state of religion and the Church in a province where the Church was established by law; elsewhere sectism in various forms prevailed, and it was reserved to the Venerable Society to undertake the work which in the course of years gave us our American Church. Without the labors of the Society in supplying us with men of 'Apostolic zeal' and 'unblamable character,' of true religion and good learning, the Church, betrayed by those who should have sought her highest good, 'wounded like her Master in the house of her friends,' would have died [pp. 204, 205].

It was out of the knowledge of such a state of things in the Colonial Churches that the plan arose which developed into the formation and authorising by Royal Charter of the Venerable Society. In answer to an urgent appeal from the Clergy of Maryland, representing to the Bishop of London the great and pressing necessity of an ecclesiastical ruler, invested with such ample power as might capacitate him to redress what was amiss and supply what was wanting in the Church, it was determined to send as the Bishop's Commissary the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray, who accepted the appointment on condition of the provision of parochial libraries for the Ministers sent out to the province. In this good design he enlisted the interest of the Archbishops and many of the Bishops; and in planning for the benefit of the Colonists he conceived the idea of a Church of England "Congregation *pro fide propaganda*" by Charter from the King. Out of this design, before he left England, originated the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and, after his return from his first visit to Maryland, the thought which seems to have been originally in mind was worked out into the scheme of a Society whose special duty it should be to propagate the Gospel throughout the Colonies and foreign dependencies of the British Empire, for which he sought and procured a charter.

The influence of Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Compton, Bishop of London, was exerted in behalf of this application ; but nothing can take from Thomas Bray the distinguished honor of being the originator and founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts [p. 140].

The Society held its first meeting at Lambeth Palace, on the 27 of June, 1701, and included among its members the chief dignitaries of the Church of England, as well as distinguished laymen, eminent among whom were the saintly Robert Nelson and the celebrated John Evelyn. It is a noticeable fact that in the second year of its existence the Society was considering the necessity of the appointment of a Suffragan Bishop for America, and debating the possibility of obtaining the Episcopal relief so earnestly desired from the Scotch Bishops. Another interesting fact noticeable in this connection, though belonging to a later date in history, is that the records of the meetings of this Society, with the correspondence of its missionaries, in which the history of the Church in America was given year by year, were, so far as related to our North American Colonies, copied by our historiographer, Dr. Hawks, under direction of the General Convention.

Shortly after these transcripts were made, the original documents were destroyed by fire, and the American Church, by its gift of the volumes of these letters sumptuously printed under the authority of the General Convention, has furnished the Society with the material for much of its own history, which had else been hopelessly lost [p. 199].

So the untiring industry of Dr. Hawks, in his loving care for the preservation of the monuments of history, has benefited not the Church of his own country only, but also that of England ; and so his good works do follow him in a way that no one anticipated.

It is difficult for those who have been accustomed only to the indifferentism or charity amidst which the younger generation has grown up to realise the intense interest which men took in questions relating to the faith and order of the Church in the Colonial times. This intensity of interest led not only to very explicit

and sometimes very harsh words, but also to very severe dealing with those who happened to be in the minority, as the Churchmen were in New England. One of the best possible illustrations of the temper of those times, and the methods and consequences of controversy, is given by the author in his account of the trial of John Checkley, and the struggles of the Church in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut [pp. 257-282].

John Checkley was a native of Boston, educated partly in the Colony and partly at Oxford, from which University he afterward received an honorary M.A. He spent some time in travel and study, which improved his natural ability so that when he returned to his native country he was found very troublesome in the controversies into which his strong Church principles and feelings led him in opposition to the prevailing Puritanism. His controversies were numerous and bitter; especially bitter in the attacks upon himself. And not content with the result of their best efforts to conquer him in argument, his adversaries had him brought to trial before the Colonial authorities, by whom he was fined 50 pounds and ordered to give bonds for a 100 pounds for good behavior for six months, and stand committed until sentence was performed. This sentence was given against him as the author of a false and scandalous libel; and the false and scandalous libel was the publication of Leslie's *Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, to which was added a Discourse concerning Episcopacy, in defence of Christianity and the Church of England against the Deists and Dissenters. The verdict upon which this sentence was rendered is a curious specimen:

The Jury find specially, viz.: If this Book, entitled, *A Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, containing in it a Discourse concerning Episcopacy (published and many of them sold by the said John Checkley) be a false and scandalous libel, then we find the said Checkley guilty of all and every part of the Indictment (excepting that supposed to traduce and draw into dispute the undoubted Right and Title of our Sovereign Lord King George to the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Territories thereto belonging). But if the said Book, containing a Discourse

concerning Episcopacy as aforesaid, be not a false and scandalous libel, then we find him not guilty [p. 265].

That is to say, if he be guilty, he is guilty; and if he be not guilty, he is not guilty, which reads like the traditional Hibernian verdict of "not guilty, but recommended to mercy;" or that other curious epitome of the wisdom of one of our Ecclesiastical Courts, in the case of a dignitary who shall be nameless, and who was found "guilty of lying without criminality." Evidently, at least, the principle that, in libel cases, the jury are judges both of the law and the fact, was unknown to this tribunal.

The speech by which Checkley sustained his own cause was

in Checkley's happiest vein, full of hardly suppressed sarcasm and close reasoning. Disposing with great cleverness of the charge of sedition, while at the same time defending with marked ability the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination and Sacraments; compelling even the Chief Justice, who had attempted to cut short his arguments, to permit and listen to a labored defence of the most obnoxious portions of the discourse concerning Episcopacy; quoting, in support of his position, that all 'ordination by the people is null and void,' the language of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, the General Assembly of Scotch Presbyterians, and the learned Ebenezer Pemberton's Discourse of Ordination, Checkley proceeded to prove, 1st, that no Provincial Assembly could, by right or in fact, establish either the Presbyterian or Congregational systems 'so as to make THAT the establishment and the Episcopal Churches to be Dissenters;' 2d, that 'by a just and true construction of the laws of this very Province the Church of England is established here;' 3d, that by the laws of England the Church of England 'as established in England, and no other, is positively established in all His Majesty's plantations.' It is safe to assert that no such speech was ever made before a New England audience, and it is not hard to imagine with what rage and vindictive hate its sharp and cutting sentences were heard [p. 265].

Obviously the speech had more effect upon the jury than upon the court.

Judging by the extracts from both sides of the controversy made by the author, the false and scandalous libelling was hardly limited to Checkley's effusions. One of his antagonists calls Checkley a pert Jacobite, and

"twice thirty years a servant of the devil." No doubt Checkley was aggravating, not only by reason of his straightforward blows of argument, but also by his side hits, such, for instance, as the following :

A specimen of a true dissenting Catechism, upon right true blue dissenting principles, with learned notes, by way of explication. *Question* : Why don't the Dissenters in their publick worship make use of the Creeds? *Answer* : Why? Because they are not set down word for word in the Bible. *Question* : But why don't the Dissenters in their publick worship make use of the LORD's prayer? *Answer* : Oh! Because that is set down word for word in the Bible. They're so perverse and opposite as if they worshipp'd God for spite [p. 268].

On the other hand, we have a passage, like the following, from Dr. Samuel Mather's *Testimony from Scripture against Idolatry and Superstition*, originally preached in Dublin in 1660, and now reproduced against Checkley, being a setting forth in certain particulars of "the principal ceremonies and idols of the Church of England."

1. Do you think that ever JESUS CHRIST wore a surplice? 2. The sign of the Cross, that special mark of the Beast, *Revelation* xiii. 16. 3. Kneeling at the LORD's Supper . . . a dangerous symbolising with the Papists, who kneel before their Breatden God. 4. Bowing to the Altar and setting the Communion Table Altar wise . . . a gross piece of Popish Idolatry. 5. Bowing at the Name of JESUS. A most vile piece of *Syllabical Idolatry*. . . . 6. Popish Holy Days. As if the LORD JESUS CHRIST himself were not wise enough to appoint Days and Times sufficient to keep His own Nativity, etc., in everlasting remembrance in the hearts of His Saints, but the Devil and the Pope must keep it out. 7. Consecrating churches. Inherent holiness is in Persons, which Places are no way capable of. 8. Organs and Cathedral musick. Not one word of Institution for them in the Gospel; but on the contrary they are cashiered . . . by that General Rule. 1 *Corinthians* xiv. 26, 15. 9. The Book of Common Prayer. It is as unreasonable and absurd as to force a man to go with crutches when he is not lame, etc., etc. [p. 269].

But controversy does not always and necessarily produce harsh expressions, or indicate malevolent dispositions. The following extract from a pamphlet of Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, in another controversy, is worthy of observation and remembrance :

For God's sake, my brethren : Let us not, for the future study to put the worst constructions we can on one another's Words or Actions ; but let us rather endeavour to make the best we can of them. Let us not try to magnify and aggravate the Differences between us, but rather to make as little of them, and to consider them with as much Tenderness, as possible ; Let us not dispute which has already most or least charity, but let us strive to see who shall hereafter, really and in fact, most abound in the Practice of that Heavenly Virtue, both towards each other, and toward all Men. This is the best course we can take as far as possible in this imperfect state to reconcile ourselves to one another, both in Judgment and Practice : to meet together in Truth, and live in Peace here, or, however, to meet at last in that perfect state of Truth and Peace and Holiness hereafter, where God and Charity alone shall forever reign [p. 275].

To return to Checkley, however, his most earnest desire seems to have been to minister at the altars of the Church whose Apostolical institution and government he had so stoutly maintained. To accomplish this desire he crossed the ocean three times, only on his third application being successful. He was understood by the ecclesiastical authorities in England to be open to two objections, which we have other reasons for knowing were in the eyes of the English Episcopate most serious disqualifications for the laying on of hands.

The Rev. John Barnard, the Puritan Minister of Marblehead, wrote, as he tells us in his Autobiography, to the Bishop of London, accusing Checkley of lack of learning, of intolerance, and of disaffection to the Government. These charges were sufficient to carry the point, and their author exultantly records his pleasure : 'Thus our Town and the Churches of this Province through the favour of God, got rid of a turbulent, vexatious, and persecuting spirited non-juror' [p. 270, n].

Rather slight evidence this, of his want of loyalty to the House of Hanover, but the *warning* appears to have been sufficient ; and anyway there could be no doubt of his being displeasing to the Dissenters. At length, however,

—in the year 1739, the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Stephen Weston, a friend of Bishop Sherlock's, 'was found willing to hear this impracticable man, begging, at the age of fifty-nine, to be *allowed* to minister in one of the hardest spheres on earth to which a

Churchman was ever doomed.' . . . The newly ordained clergyman . . . was appointed, with a stipend of £60 sterling, to S. John's Mission, Providence, and began at the age of sixty to a ministry that was ended only by his death, after fourteen years' faithful service. Old though he was at his entrance upon duty, 'no man was more desired' by the Church-folk of Providence. 'Received with joy' by his congregation, he labored for the negroes and Indians as well as those more immediately of his charge, and in the midst of engrossing duties found time and strength to minister at Taunton, twenty miles distant, and also at Warwick and Attleborough. From time to time he visited the Indians in various parts of New England, with whom he appears to have (had) no little influence, in consequence of his ability to speak with them in their own tongues. At length . . . the faithful old man died, and the worshippers who throng the noble church which has replaced the simple structure in which he ministered, pass, as they enter 'the courts of the LORD,' over his unmarked grave [pp. 270, 271].

From the career of one whose controversies ended in a life of faithful preaching and ministration, the transition to the career of some whose preaching and ministrations have issued in endless controversies, is not altogether forced; although, as perhaps it is unnecessary to say, the transition in the present case is that of the reviewer and not of the author. In the course of the author's account of the Missionaries of the Church, there stand out two most remarkable pictures—remarkable both for the character and work of the men themselves, and for the vivid manner in which these pages portray them—those, namely, of John Wesley and George Whitfield. It will be worth while to take a glimpse of the history of two men, who left their mark upon the religious life of this country, and who, although they did not follow the same methods in their work here, appear to have been actuated by a common spirit of enthusiasm, which in time, through the agency of both, produced the fruit of schism. Wesley's work, while he was himself in this country, was performed with the most uncompromising adherence to the rules of the Church, plus some devices of his own, such as "little societies" and "meetings for mutual exhortation." Whitfield, on the other hand, rather made a convenience of his position in the Church. Whitfield succeeded; Wesley failed, although partly from causes

outside of his work. The Methodism which looks to Wesley as its source, apparently owes the success which it has had to the tendency of Wesley's disciples toward Whitfield's ways; ways in which personal religion is to be regarded as if it were wholly independent of the Divine institutions of the Church of CHRIST, and in which the regenerating and renewing influence of the HOLY SPIRIT is to be sought not so much in the use of the means of grace as by miraculous interposition.

In accordance with the suggestion of Dr. Burton, President of Corpus Christi in Oxford, and one of the Trustees of Georgia, Wesley accompanied General Oglethorpe in his journey to that colony.

On Quinquagesima Sunday, March 7, 1736, Wesley entered on his ministry at Savannah, preaching on the Epistle for the day. . . . On the first Sunday in Lent he administered the Holy Communion, giving notice of his 'design to do so, every Sunday and holy day, according to the rules of our Church.' There were eighteen communicants. Incidentally we learn from his journal something of his Lenten austerities. At one time he lived solely upon bread. During Holy Week he instituted a 'little society' among the 'more serious' of 'the little flock in Savannah.' Out of this he selected a smaller number 'for a more intimate union with each other,' who met in the minister's home every Sunday afternoon. On the second Sunday after Easter he 'began dividing the public prayers, according to the original appointment of the Church.' Morning Prayer began at five o'clock. The Communion Office with the sermon was at eleven. The Evening Prayer was said about three o'clock. . . . Baptism by immersion was now insisted upon. Ascension-Day was observed by a celebration. The little society grew in numbers. . . . In the meantime Charles Wesley had returned to England. . . . John Wesley sought to make good his brother's absence by occasional visits to Frederica, walking through swamps and thickets, lying out all night, exposed to storms, and often destitute of food. 'By his coming the Morning and Evening Prayers were revived.' Services in German were also had for the benefit of those who could not understand the English tongue, and the more thoughtful were banded together, as in Savannah, for godly reading, prayer, and praise. . . . The children were catechised before and after school, again on Saturday, and on Sunday before the Evening Service, and the best of them still again before the congregation after the Second Lesson. An hour was spent at the minister's home after Evening Service on Sundays and Wednesdays, 'in prayer, singing, and mutual exhortations.' A communicants'

meeting was held on Saturday evening, and a few were found to come on the other evenings of the week for an half-hour's prayer and praise. On Palm-Sunday, April 3, 1737, and 'every day in this great and Holy Week' there was 'a sermon and the Holy Communion.' To his studies in German and French, in both which languages he ministered from time to time, he added the acquisition of Spanish, 'in order,' as he tells us, 'to converse with my Jewish parishioners, some of whom seem nearer to the mind that was in CHRIST than many of those who call Him LORD.' He met with the Commissary, Alexander Garden, and the clergy in the neighboring Province of South Carolina, at the appointed 'visitation,' and found great satisfaction in a conversation with them for several hours on 'CHRIST our Righteousness.'

The story of an episode in Wesley's life, not generally known, but having an important bearing on his work here, being his devotion to Miss Sophia Christian-Hopkey, a niece of Thomas Causton, the chief magistrate of the settlers, is gracefully told by the author; but for our purposes may be summed up by three extracts from his journal, almost as crisp and comprehensive as Cæsar's famous *Veni, vidi, vici*, but unhappily with an inverted climax.

I walked with Mr. Causton to his country lot, and plainly felt that had God given me such a retirement with the companion I desired, I should have forgot the work for which I was born, and set up my rest in this world.

The following day the record reads :

Miss Sophy engaged herself to Mr. Williamson, a person not remarkable for handsomeness, neither for greatness, neither for wit, or knowledge, or sense, and least of all for religion.

Four days later the tale is completed :

They were married at Purrysburg—this being the day which completed the year from my first speaking with her. What Thou doest, O God, I know not now, but I shall know hereafter.

Notwithstanding the many good qualities for the want of which Mr. Williamson was remarkable before his marriage, it is probable that, after his marriage, Wesley discovered further, that he was no more remarkable for long-sufferingness than for handsomeness. In consequence of Mrs. Williamson's neglect to observe the

Rubric requiring notice to be given to the curate the day before of an intention to communicate, she found herself repelled from the Holy Table. And this act of discipline Mr. Williamson so strongly resented as to institute legal proceedings against the parson for defamation of his wife's character in so repelling her in a public congregation, and to feel himself damaged to the extent of 1,000 pounds sterling. This brought to the surface much ill will in the community, and occasioned so much bitterness as greatly to impair Wesley's usefulness. His labors were even increased, although one would have thought that impossible, but the congregation dwindled. "Discord reigned and scandal abounded on every side. An attempt at reconciliation failed," and Wesley finally set sail for England on the 22 of December, having resided in Georgia for one year and nearly nine months [pp. 335-345].

The ship which brought Wesley into the Downs passed one, outward bound, bearing to the mission field just abandoned the already celebrated George Whitfield. Drawn by the appeals of Wesley for help, this young clergyman, but just admitted to the Diaconate, had resolved to throw in his lot with the infant colony.

After spending some time in his ministry here as a Deacon, he returned to England and received Priests' Orders, coming again to Georgia and carrying on his peculiar methods there. Although relaxing somewhat the rubrical strictness of his predecessor, he continued, during his Diaconate, on the whole, faithful to the Church; but after ordination to the Priesthood he began little by little that affiliation with Dissenters, which in the end arrayed against him, and in opposition to his peculiar modes of operation, the leading Clergy of the Church at home and abroad. The preaching of the doctrine of the *new birth*, as explained by himself, produced the wildest enthusiasm. During the building of a new church in Savannah, dissenting preachers occupied the pulpit at the temporary place of worship from time to time. The prayers were curtailed. The inhibition of Commissary Garden was unheeded. The Bishops were publicly

derided, and their theology held up to scorn ; and when Whitfield set out on a journey he left his cure in the hands of such Anabaptist, or enthusiastic preachers, or laymen as he found ready at hand for the purpose.

The result which might have been expected followed. For a time his enthusiasm attracted all sorts of people to the Church ; afterward the Church people themselves began to be unsettled. The adoption of means and methods which the Church is thought to have been unwise in laying aside, or avoiding, coupled with the sincere intention of doing good to those who have failed to heed or appreciate the provision which the Church has made for them, may stimulate a zeal which, for a time, appears to work wonders ; but the issue is apt to suggest that the Church was not so foolish after all. Simple-minded earnestness may lead men to long for the rousing of a spirit of enthusiasm, but the spirit of enthusiasm is apt to master rather than to serve the best interests of the Church. So it proved here :

All true lovers of the Church (writes a contemporary) have been at a great straight for a long while, not well knowing how to behave under such a torrent of enthusiasm and strange doctrine brought in among us by sectaries of divers sorts, whilst the Liturgy in most parts of the several offices has been either curtailed, mangled, or omitted ; the Psalms and ordinary Lessons appointed have been disregarded, to make room for extemporary expositions on any part of Holy Scripture which the expositor liked better for his purpose. Surplice, gown, and cassock, and all such innocent decencies have been thrown aside as useless or worse, while the orthodox Clergy of the Church have been vilely treated with ribaldry, as slothful shepherds, dumb dogs, etc., and some of our learned and pious Divines, once the ornament of the age they lived in, now in their graves, villified to that degree (from the pulpit) by name as to attempt persuading all those who followed them that it was the sure way to hell [pp. 352, 353].

The same writer is quoted by the author as giving a description of one of Whitfield's performances, which may be presumed to be a fair sample of the rest, and with which we may take our leave of him as he did of his hearers :

In the afternoon Mr. Whitfield came to town from Bethesda ; in the evening he began the common service of the Church, then

read the Second Lesson, and proceeded to give the congregation a lecture, off-hand, on those topics which he was so fond of, concerning Election, Reprobation, etc., asserting it against all gain-sayers, that unless we attain to such a portion of the HOLY SPIRIT within us, and so sensibly feel it moving as to assure us of our being justified, we were all in a state of damnation ; which he did so pathetically, that he not only dropped tears himself, but drew many tears and groans from great part of his audience ; after which he laid aside the Common Prayer Book, and instead of those prayers that remained to be read, he fell into a long extemporary prayer of his own, full of flatus and enthusiasm, and uttered with a Stentor's voice, bewailing the little number of converts he had been able to make during the time of his ministry, lamenting the forlorn state of the colony, through the hardness of their hearts, which he plainly saw could never prosper till this generation was all worn out, like the Israelites in the wilderness, and intimating that his orphan-house was a work of God, from which future blessings might be derived to this place ; then cautioning all to beware of such as preached soft things, he dismissed his audience, taking a formal leave of them [p. 353].

Of a very different character had been the missionary work of Keith and Talbot, described in an earlier part of this volume [pp. 206-221]. The description of these and other missionaries, the abstracting of the author's account of notable conversions to the Church, of the growth of the Church in Connecticut, of the struggle for the Episcopate, and, above all, of the position of the colonial Clergy at the time of the Revolution, would be a most grateful task to the writer ; and performed, however unsatisfactorily to him, could hardly, from the very richness of the material, fail to be interesting and instructive to the reader—and then we should only have skimmed the surface of the first of these mammoth volumes. All of this immense mine has been worked preparatory to the entrance upon the subject, which was particularly assigned to the author, of the history of the Church for the first century of its existence as an organisation distinct from the Church of England. The early conventions, the process of the organisation of the scattered colonial churches, the principles underlying that process, the transmission and perpetuation of the Episcopal succession, the parties and strifes in the Church, the missionary movements, the ordeal of the

Church in the war between the States, and many other subjects which are treated in the second volume are worthy of deeper study and more careful handling than, under present pressure, the present writer is able to bestow upon them, although he is not without the hope of a further and more deliberate endeavor in this direction. What has been said already may, it is hoped, at least, convey that favorable impression of the author's work which a careful perusal cannot fail to strengthen. A score of pages more or less may suffice for the review of a book, but it would make a book to review a library, and such, in its range and detailed treatment of subjects, this work may, without much exaggeration, be said to be.

WILLIAM JONES SEABURY.

RECENT AMERICAN FICTION.

The Rise of Silas Lopham. By W. D. HOWELLS. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1885.

An Original Belle. By E. P. ROE. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1885.

The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains. By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

As it was Written. By SIDNEY LUSKA. New York and London: Cassell & Co. 1885.

Andromeda. By GEORGE FLEMING. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1885.

"THE Novel," "The Modern Novel," "The American Novel," are phrases which have become familiar to most of us in the magazines and newspapers of late years. They are brave, all of them, with capital letters and the definite article, and, enriched with these dignities have the appearance of captions for theses or headings for discussion wherever the eye alights upon them. The novel has, in fact, become a "subject," and it is canvassed earnestly as such, not only by readers of fiction, but recently by the makers of it. This is no doubt part of the indomitable spirit of inquiry which, in our time, leads us to analyse good things instead of merely enjoying them. We must know why we like a novel, and if we ought to like it. Our grandfathers

were content with an unreasoning enjoyment of the stories of Fielding and Smollett ; it did not occur to them to reason with their satisfaction. The novelists who live in an age in which this restless habit of investigation has domesticated itself, and who write for such readers, are naturally self-conscious and much given to making the latest discoveries about themselves and their art. As they practise the announcement of these discoveries, nothing could be more interesting and agreeable. They tell us of them in lectures, in magazine articles, and in the novels themselves, and however they tell us the telling is charming. For there is scarcely any of the egotism and self-seeking which superficial writers like to see in this when they offer their sagacious musings upon *The Modern American Novelist*. There may surely exist a high and wholesome curiosity about the purposes of one's art, in which personal considerations are abolished. It is such a curiosity about the ceaselessly interesting movement of life which inspires men to write novels, and it is not strange that they should manifest it in regard to the methods and purposes of their completed work—the record of their curious observation.

That the novelist takes his art with increasing seriousness in our time and country is, in fact, most fortunate ; for the body of persons who learn of him the better part of their ideas of life, who unconsciously absorb from him their theories not only of taste, but of morality, of goodness, truth, and manly living, grows larger. It is well that the men with whom such responsibility rests should be as conscious of it as possible ; and they can scarcely challenge the tendencies and purposes, the methods and processes of their work too rigidly. It is true that our American novelists, taking their cue in part from the French masters of fiction, are of late more anxious about the methods and processes than about tendencies and purposes ; but this will right itself in time by a natural reaction, and meanwhile we have reason to be glad of the illumination which constant discussion sheds upon the principles of fiction writing, so that those who make our future novels can make them unsoundly only by

sinning against light, and those who read our present novels cannot excuse the reading of poor ones either by alleging that there is no conscientious fiction made, or that they are not told what constitutes good fiction. In truth, the habit of criticism, begotten of frequent reading of the novelists' investigations of themselves and their performances in print, must tend to refine literary taste, and it has certainly, with the aid of other influences of the same sort, increased the number of those who have learned to refuse all but the best novels. It is cheering, at all events, to see the manifestations of a healthfully active spirit of self-inquiry among the makers of fiction, for it assures us that whithersoever they lead us it will not be in ignorance of the path they are treading.

The growth of this spirit has kept pace with the sudden and remarkable uplifting of the whole tone of novel writing which began in this country between ten and fifteen years ago. The date of the publication of the first fictions of Howells and of James is likely to be set down by the future literary historian of our time as epoch-marking. He will undoubtedly have his ideas about the work of these writers, this historian; and they will as certainly not be our ideas. But whatever his notions about the permanent value of novels like *The Rise of Silas Lapham* and *The Portrait of a Lady*, he cannot blind himself to the fact that the first publication of such solid, fine, careful, faithfully artistic work as those books represent, punctuates a new era in American letters. He will not fail to remember that there had been conscientious fiction written in this country before; Hawthorne can scarcely seem a less splendid figure to him than to us. But Hawthorne struck a note which died with him; and the fictions of Howells and James were seemingly born of a widely felt impulse, astir at the time in many other minds and by no means dead yet. It chanced to be the mission of their genius to give it its first utterance, and our historian of the next century—that shrewd and discriminating gentleman whom every writer of this century likes to imagine as incapable of the critical perversity of declining to carry

his lucubrations over into the nineteen hundreds, as treasures—will perceive this, and say it, if he is at all the man we take him for.

There are just now nearly as many shades of opinion about the literary performances of Messrs. Howells and James as there are literary critics. A hundred years hence, when Romance, mayhap, is at the top of the wave, and taking such a pelting from all sorts of critical armories as Realism is taking now, there may be no one who cares as much for these writers as some enthusiasts among us do now; their works may stand respectably bound on top shelves, unread in a great many languages, as some easily named writings which the last century labelled Classical, in advance, do upon the shelves of libraries in many lands in our day; but the students of literature will put their fingers on the period between 1870 and 1880 in America, and say: "Here was a vigorous and remarkable literary movement. Here we trace the beginnings of an influence which affected the fictional product of all the latter half of the XIXth century. For the domestication in American literature of the idea behind this movement two writers are mainly responsible. Their merit was exaggerated in their time; it was also grossly depreciated. But looking as impartially as we may through the prevailing fog of critical opinion overspreading all literary work at that day, we can be sure of one thing, that the work of these men stood for altogether the most vital and important literary impulse of their age. They were all wrong, of course, by our standards. We have recovered from their theories with agreeable completeness. But they effectively left their mark on the novel-writing of the day, and the Reaction, when it came, learned much from them which it could ill do without."

And then these students will give a special paragraph to the "movement" in their "American Literature" text-books for young people (we shall have international copyright by that time, and the story of American Literature will have been promoted from its present place as supplement to text-books on English Litera-

ture), and they will print the names of Mr. Howells and Mr. James, and perhaps a half-dozen others, in fat black type, and the young people, their critical views thus assisted, will possess more definite convictions upon this subject than our young people ever will, though they live to the allotted age of man.

We can safely leave to these text-books and to the critical volumes of the XXth century, the task of recording the final effect of the work of Messrs. Howells, James, and their school. It is no doubt worth while to discuss it in advance, but such a discussion would occupy much space, and could, at best, be no more than suggestive. Our business is with the present influence exerted by their theories. It is certainly wide-spread, and in one way at least must wholesomely affect all writing. This is in the elementary matter of the use of the language. It is entirely within the facts to say that Mr. Howells, to take a single instance and remain on safe ground, employs our English tongue with a graceful and easy command, a vigor and homely force, a happy variety and flexibility, a poetic felicity and daring, and a fastidious respect which we shall match among those who have written or now write English fiction with extreme difficulty. To this, with their own modifying phrases, most persons capable of forming an opinion will probably agree; and this pre-eminent characteristic is the only point upon which any considerable number of critics could be brought to agree regarding Mr. Howells. They would probably admit readily enough also that Mr. James uses language admirably. But there, too, assent would stop. To have fixed a standard of writing which no one can now fall greatly below in this country and obtain permanent consideration, is to have done much, however. One who looks abroad and tries his endurance upon the slovenly writing which passes current in English fiction must feel how much.

Some other things, as it seems to the present writer, these gentlemen and their associates have forced upon general consideration. They have lent a new dignity to novel writing by the practice of a well-considered

and unobtrusive reserve. They have enlarged the respect for fiction by respecting their calling themselves; and giving to its service refined and critical minds which, a century ago, would have spent themselves on elegant essay writing as their more natural field. The delicacy of their work has its dangers; but it has clearly also a great value. It is a delicacy which spreads from the use of language to the treatment of all the various conditions of life and character which they paint, and keeps them securely from the temptation to follow the French writers—otherwise, in some sense, their masters—into uncleanness for subject-matter. It is a delicacy, it must be said, however, which does not enlighten their perception in spiritual things. And this brings us to a matter which cannot be considered here at length—the lamentable failure of all this beautiful work in moral earnestness and strength. Very many feel as they lay down a novel of Howells, of James, or of one of their sympathisers, some vague lack in the admirable creations whose acquaintance they have enjoyed, a formless dissatisfaction with the segment of life's drama which has been played before them, without being able to explain their source. It arises, as it appears to the writer, from the benumbing absence of a vigorous moral conviction of a firmly grasped faith. This is a crude way of stating the fact; and it is set down in this brief and summary fashion reluctantly, for the point should in fairness be made more clear, and it is worth urging. Indeed, looking over the recent achievements of American writers in the field of fiction, no conclusion seems more imperatively to demand enforcing; but it must be left to another time and to more capable hands.

Meanwhile this much may reasonably be hazarded: the teaching of these writers is an artistic teaching, it has not, and probably will not, enrich our ideas about the conduct of life; it has no new message to offer touching the life which they and we are living; it regards it as a spectacle to be accurately and faithfully presented, not to be in any degree explicated or reasoned. They would doubtless say that all this is foreign to the purpose of the

novel, and so we should run up against a trite subject of discussion.

It is scarcely in this way that Mr. E. P. Roe errs. To find a more extreme contrast than that between him and the school just mentioned would be difficult. For anything that he has heard of the new lessons in the air about novel writing Mr. Roe might as well be a mediæval troubadour. *An Original Belle*, his latest fiction, cannot be said to be exactly un-modern, for it is a characteristic performance of the author, and Mr. Roe is not a writer about whom there is much of the feudal. On the contrary, he is as natural a product of the conditions of American life as Howells or James, but in a somewhat different way. Mr. Roe, so far from holding with these Realists that the novel need not relate itself very solidly to the great moral basis of things, would seem to have a fixed belief that the moral basis is really the only point, and if the novelist has enough of it he need not greatly trouble himself about his novel. Mr. Roe has his theories as well as Mr. Howells or Mr. James, but they are not about the artistic ethics of novel writing. He has a conception of the good which fiction may do, of the large possibilities of its mission, and a sense of his responsibility in having the ear of a vast audience, which do him honor. Nothing could be better, of course; but Mr. Roe's manner of discharging his generously conceived functions is for the most part clumsy, self-conscious, and unhappy. He probably does much good, and that, one may say, compensates for any ineptitude in his fashion of doing it. But how much more good might he do if he could but reinforce his admirable purposes with a reasonable art! If the moral were a little less obtrusive, presented with a trifle more skill, let us say, would it not have a better chance of implanting itself effectively in the hearts the writer is anxious to reach? The Sunday-school books of our day, written with avowed purpose to instruct and lead in the right way, and having no special obligation to art, are more ingeniously constructed for their purpose than Mr. Roe's.

In the volume under consideration, *An Original*

Belle, the writer, as is his habit, is at pains to make us acquainted with his purpose in a preface, apparently in fear that the book will not discover it to the reader; and in the first chapter the purpose itself, embodied, personified, and dragged incontinently upon the stage, is presented with a conspicuousness which must force it upon the attention of any one in need of the kind of reform for which *An Original Belle* is a plea. It does seem, however, that any "belle" in need of the moral awakening which comes to the heroine of this book—unless she were very "original" indeed—would be repelled by this first chapter's super-obvious point, and quite wearied by the second chapter's enforcement of it. Omitting the pervasive purpose, *An Original Belle* is a pleasant book, so far as its rather pretty and well-conceived love-story goes; but this is swathed in unnumbered pages of irrelevant matter, and asks more patience for its disentanglement than it is easy to give, until one comes to the account of the draft riots in New York, in the summer of 1863, which are described with vividness and some power. Mr. Roe has, to speak plainly, scarcely any of the qualities which go to make a first-rate novelist. His imagination is thin and slow, his ability to create natural people is not large, the conversations which he finds for them are such as never could be held outside a book, and his style is one of undilute commonplace. That his books sell more widely than those of any American novelist is nothing to his credit. There will always be a larger audience for such work as his than there can be for the delicate art of Howells, for the same reason, roughly speaking, that the *Chautauqua Literary Circle Monthly*—an excellent journal in its way, but not appealing to the highest tastes—has a very large circulation, while the *Atlantic Monthly* has but 15,000 readers.

Miss Murfree (writing under the pseudonym of Charles Egbert Craddock) seems to have absorbed many of the lessons about her art which have been spoken of as in the air, before committing herself to publication. She is almost as different outwardly from

Howells or James as Mr. Roe is; but she is in the completest accord with their rigidly artistic view of the novel. *In the Tennessee Mountains*, her first book, was a series of remarkably fresh and powerful short stories. She showed in this, for a novice, an uncommon mastery of the short story. But short-story writing is almost as different from novel writing as sculpture is from painting. It is an art of itself, and skill in it does not imply success in the making of novels. *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains*, following Miss Murfree's collection of short stories, is therefore interesting, as in some degree showing whether we have in "Charles Egbert Craddock" a novelist, as well as a short-story writer of uncommon cleverness and brilliancy. *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains* is in a degree a fulfilment of the promise of the stories. It is an advance upon them, and it shows that we may look for solid and permanent work from the writer in the broad and difficult field of the novel. A perfectly symmetrical novel, maturely considered, justly balanced in all parts, it is not. But it has an interesting story to tell, it is peopled with the realest sort of real persons, and its scene makes a rich and effective background, both for them and the development of the story. This story occupies only about three hundred pages, of largish type, and should be easy to tell in a few sentences. But it is not, and it is because it lacks a dominant meaning and purpose. From the title it is fair to presume that the writer has taken for her subject the Prophet himself, and when the end is read one might say, the Prophet's sacrifice. The Prophet—a parson of the mountains, with the attributed gift of prophecy—is finely conceived as tortured by radical doubts of his religious faith, while supposing (in his narrow experience) himself to be the one creature in all God's universe not at one with his Maker. But this admirably imagined character, though he haunts the whole book, is not firmly bodied forth anywhere in it. We find ourselves, while prepared to sympathise with him in his awful trial, insufficiently acquainted both with him and with his difficulty. And nothing replaces the

Prophet and his ordeal as the salient point of the book. The incidents have chiefly to do with the "hiding out," as the mountaineers call it, of Rick Tyler, charged unjustly with complicity in a murder. But this, even if we add the fact of Rick's love for Dorinda Cayce, the daughter of a moonshiner, and his stupid jealousy of Parson Kelsey, the Prophet, do not make a sufficient subject for a novel. At all events, as treated by Miss Murfree, the result is almost more like a series of short stories, in which the same people figure. All the parts of the book are related to one another because they deal with one community, but they do not grow out of one another with that inevitable necessity of connection which is the final test of a firmly knit, workmanlike novel. *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains* is extremely interesting, notably well written, and admirable in conception, but the author has still something to learn about construction.

What one chiefly enjoys in the work is its flavor. It would be difficult to name any fiction since Bret Harte's tales of California which smacks so strongly of the soil from which it springs. Of course dialect, that much-abused good thing, lends flavor, and all the people of this book speak in a dialect which no one but Miss Murfree herself in her earlier work has used. She employs it with a confidence and flexibility which is a talent in itself. But the characters would be clear and positive individualities without the factitious aid of their strange speech. Though the peculiar people of the region Miss Murfree has, for literary purposes, discovered are much alike in their general characteristics (and we are made to feel this) they are discriminated with excellent skill. This is difficult. Thomas Hardy and George Eliot, in their studies of peasant folk, are the only English novelists, occurring to the writer at the moment, who have accomplished it with notable success; and Miss Murfree's mountaineers are on the whole more interesting than these peasants. Their talk abounds with the sort of shrewd and caustic humor which George Eliot puts into the mouths of her lowly people in such abundance;

and their actions spring from the natural untutored human impulses, with a refreshing directness and vigor. They are really more virile creations, though a woman's handiwork, than most of the characters set forth by men writers of current novels.

In her anxiety for flavor and local color Miss Murfree piles up her descriptions of the Great Smoky Mountains rather appallingly. A good third of the book is made up of pure descriptive writing, and this is a heavy load to saddle on a three-hundred-page novel. At first the scenic drawing does give flavor; but it palls. Imagine a pudding all flavor; or, agree that jelly-cake is well enough in its way, one may come to feel in time that the recurrence of the layers of jelly is a thought too regular. A page of description follows two pages of dialogue with distressing certainty. One grows tired of it. He would be glad, after a while, if Miss Murfree would allow him to set his own scenes, and longs for a severe drouth of "opalescent tints," "translucent hazes," "poetic glammers," and "golden-burnished blades of new moons." It seems captious to quarrel with Miss Murfree about these descriptions, for in their way it is hard to fancy anything better; but the young novelist has no more necessary lesson to learn than that no good thing is good enough to warrant infidelity to his main purpose: the making of a symmetrical novel.

A young man writing under the pseudonym of Sidney Luska, has given us as his first work a story called *As it was Written*, and it has achieved some success. If the writer made the book with the purpose of getting it talked about, he made it ingeniously. But from any other point of view it is an ill-balanced work. It has distinct power and grasp; and no one can refuse to enjoy the swift, dramatic conduct of the story. No more absorbing narrative has been offered of late, unless we except Hugh Conway's rather cheap but well-contrived sensation, *Called Back*. This alone would give it a popular lift, for, as a certain class of critics make haste to inform us on the publication of a book like this, "After all, the people like a story of the good old-fashioned sort." No

doubt the number of those whose thirst for a new excitement is stronger than their craving for rounded art is not much diminished by the fact that several writers have of late set up shops for the production of rounded art, and that it is to be had of any bookseller at a reasonable price. But one would think these persons must demand a certain sanity even in a "good old-fashioned story;" and Mr. Luska's book decidedly lacks sanity.

The narrative deals with the passionate love of the story-teller for a beautiful Jewess, who is strangely murdered in the early chapters, with his desolation following her loss—it is an uncommonly desolate sort of desolation for it leads him to renounce his calling as a teacher of the violin for the life of a waiter in a German beer-saloon—and with his discovery (after being tried for the girl's murder and acquitted) that, after all, he had killed her, and never knew it! This is as startling an outcome for a tale as the oldest old-fashioned story could furnish. It is explained in the new-fashioned way,—supernaturally. No one would ever guess how he chanced to murder his betrothed wife unaware, so Mr. Luska tells us.

And yet the explanation, when one is in possession of it, is simplicity itself. It was one of those chance affairs. The father of the narrator, it appears, cherished a grudge against the father of this same girl, and years after his death the narrator finds a letter from his father informing him that he will always be with his son in spirit, insisting upon his murdering the man against whom he has this grudge, or his nearest descendant. It has happened that the girl, with whom the narrator falls in love, was the exact person whom his father wished abolished (as the original grudgee is already dead); and though at the time of the murder the narrator knew nothing about this, he learns afterward, in a most remarkable trance, that he has done just the right thing unconsciously. That is where the chance came in. The spirit of the father, by an interesting coincidence, urged the son to commit this murder, jump at the moment when the house was clear, and no one would know, and to complete the happiness of the

chance, the son himself does not know. All this is certainly very curious, but it is not what we have a right to expect from a conscientious novelist. In sober fact, a writer has no right to conduct the reader through a series of griefs and terrors in which all the people and scenery are of the earth, and when the complications have become difficult of earthly solution to spring a supernatural solution upon him. Such a fashion of untying the knot of a story is an affront to the reader; the knot was, after all, only a sleight-of-hand knot, he sees, in his disillusionment, and the untying is only a magician's trick, and a shabby one. Mr. Luska has genuine power and talent, and it is a pity he should pervert it to such uses. There is no solid success to be won by work like this, and the curiosity which it may excite in its day is no recommendation to posterity. The writer has called his book *As it was Written*, as if willing to disclaim responsibility for it. Before he gives us another work it is to be hoped that he will perceive that this was as it ought not to have been written.

There is good, and, on the whole, agreeable work in George Fleming's *Andromeda*. The writer is remembered for her clever *Kismet* and *Mirage*, as well as for her later novels, *Vestigia* and *The Head of Medusa*. It is hard, however, to imagine why she has chosen to exercise her talent upon so hopelessly trite a subject as that which is the basis of the plot of *Andromeda*. Surely we have heard to satiety the story of how a man steals away the heart of his friend's mistress. George Fleming cherishes, in common with a number of others, a magnificent contempt for the methods of Messrs. Howells and James; but she seems to share Mr. Howells's well-known belief that "the stories are all told." They may be, but the writer of *Andromeda* cannot presume upon the hypothesis so successfully as Mr. Howells, for her style, her theory, her ideas of the novel demand a story. Only something new and strange to tell can justify George Fleming's methods. *Andromeda* is not in any strict sense a novel of manners nor a novel of character. It ought

then, at least, to have the romantic compensation of a striking plot. But in its place we have the threadbare device of posing a cripple (to whom a young girl has, mistaking pity for love, betrothed herself) against his stalwart friend, who finds that he loves another's affianced wife, and that other his friend, and discovers that she returns his love. In its essentials this story has been told so often that no art can make it seem fresh. In *Andromeda* we feel the hot breath of real passion, and there is a vividness and genuineness about the feelings of all the people made known to us which does much toward rendering the book interesting; a decently managed love-story, however hackneyed, seems always to be that. But we are constantly beset in reading *Andromeda* with an impatience of the twice-told tale, foreseeing the end with annoying clearness from the beginning.

Apart from this, and from a certain carelessness in construction and looseness of style, the light play of a serious philosophy, the skilful and continent use of a genuine descriptive faculty, and the successful encompassing of the work with an atmosphere of romantic feeling are as agreeable as one could wish.

WOLCOTT BALESTIER.

THE THEORY OF MARRIAGE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Husband and Wife ; or, The Theory of Marriage and its Consequences. By GEORGE ZABRISKIE GRAY, D.D., Dean of the Theological School in Cambridge. With an introduction by the Rt. Rev. F. D. HUNTINGTON, D.D., Bishop of Central New York. Second Edition. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1885.

DEAN GRAY, it would appear, is in sympathy with the radical movement in England to legalise marriage with a deceased wife's sister. His essay is an ingenious attempt to defend the connection on the ground of Holy Scripture and the law of nature. We are bound, at the very outset, to take exception to the assumption on which the Dean's plea for introducing this vexed question among ourselves is based. We do not for a single moment admit that marriage with a deceased wife's sister is an open question among us. We do not grant the premises with which the writer starts, that the Protestant Episcopal Church in America has no law on the subject, and that she has the right, if she chooses, to make a law which shall legalise a connection which the whole Church, East and West, has stamped as incestuous. The American Church, as a branch of the Church Catholic, is bound by the fundamental law of the Church universal. Her law on the subject of marriage is the law of the Church of England as set forth in her table of Degrees. It is not the English *Church* which is agitating this question of marriage to a deceased wife's sister, but the English Parlia-

ment, so far as it is controlled by men interested in the question on selfish grounds. The Anglican Episcopate to a man is united in resisting the agitation of the question. The American Church holds the same ground as the Anglican Church, and is bound by the same fundamental law of the Church Catholic.

We are in sympathy with the principle laid down by Dean Gray, that the argument *pro* or *con* does not depend upon isolated texts of Holy Scripture, but upon the primal law which governs the marriage relationship. Does *monogamy*, then, rest upon the law of nature or upon Divine revelation? Holy Scriptures answer the question in the first and second chapters of the Book of *Genesis*. Man, in the first chapter, appears among the animal creation, with mere distinction of sex, as the lower creatures. He is represented in the second chapter as placed in a condition above nature. He is to have access to the tree of life, on condition that he shall not eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. God revealed Himself to man in Paradise as a personal GOD, by the Angel of His Presence; not as Elohim, or world-matter, but as Jehovah-Elohim, the covenant GOD. The covenant relationship between God and man is to be maintained, not only by not eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, but also by putting a restraint upon the indulgence of the sexual appetite. The lower creatures may give themselves up to indiscriminate concubinage, but man, if he will remain in possession of the higher blessings conferred upon him, and dwell in the Divine Presence, must make *monogamy* the rule of his life. Marriage, in the Scriptural meaning of the word, accordingly, as held by the Church in all ages, is sacramental in its nature; it belongs not to the state of nature, but to a sphere of which the tree of knowledge and the tree of life were the covenant signs and symbols.

We are surprised to find that Dr. Gray, in his theory of marriage, makes no mention of this sacramental relation, as set forth in Holy Scripture, and seems to have little or no appreciation of it. We are bold to affirm that the sacred narrative points in the very opposite di-

rection from that which the theory of Dr. Gray would lead us. We read there that when GOD brought the animal world before Adam, to see what he would call them, "there was not found" among them all "an helpmeet for him." Man needed companionship, and he could not find it among the lower creatures. To supply the want, GOD made out of man himself a creature in all respects like unto himself, and gave her to the man as another self to act in the capacity of companion and friend. She was "bone of man's bone" and "flesh of man's flesh." Not a thing alien to man, like the lower creatures, but sprung from himself, and, like himself, endowed with a reasonable soul. Luther renders the Hebrew *Isha* by *Männin* (a female man), as in the old Latin we have *vira* from *vir*. Now, there is not in all this even the suggestion of the thought that the woman was created to be the inferior of the man, but just the opposite. The name *Ishah* from *Ish*, the declaration that among the creatures there was not found man's equal, the special creative act which, as in the case of man himself, was the token and sign of personal being;—all indicate that in the original creation the man and the woman were on an equality, and were formed for mutual love and companionship. It was not until after the Fall, according to Holy Scriptures, that the woman, as a punishment for her sin, was placed in a position of subjection to the man, and the man was permitted to rule over her.

What, then, is meant when it is said, in the original account of the marriage union, that the man and the woman are one flesh? The words of the inspired writer explain themselves. They are to the effect that as the woman, in joining the man, leaves father and mother, so the man also is to leave father and mother and cleave to his wife. The conjugal tie, whenever it is formed, is a repetition over again, to the end of time, of the original creative act. The man, in taking the woman to himself, makes, so to speak, a new beginning, which differs in kind altogether from the relation of parent and child, and becomes allied to his wife as Adam was united in sacramental bonds to the creature whom GOD formed specially for him, and

who differed from all the other creatures in the fact that she was "bone of his bone" and "flesh of his flesh." Now, we maintain that the inspired commentary which Moses gives us of the Divine act, when he says "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh," is in direct contradiction to the interpretation which Dr. Gray puts on these words. It is not said that the woman shall leave her family (this is taken for granted), and become part and parcel of the man's family, or tribe, or clan, but it is said that the man shall leave his father and mother, as the woman has already left her father and mother, and both together shall enter upon a new relationship, which finds its fundamental law and expression in the act of the original creation, when the woman was taken out of the man to be his other self, his companion, and his help-meet.

The view of Dr. Gray, as he would himself seem to suspect, from the position he gives to "Ancient Customs" in his argument, is in reality the old Pagan notion based upon the law of nature, and is at variance with the earlier Scriptural as it is with the later Christian doctrine of marriage. The Christian Church has always held that the relations of the man to the kindred of the woman are the same as the relations of the woman to the kindred of the man. There is no difference. If it be true that in every true marriage the original law repeats itself, and the woman brought to the man to be his wife is, by virtue of that original law, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, then, *ex necessitate rei*, his wife's sister is his own sister, or the law has ceased to be of any effect. When it is objected that *affinity* does not rest upon the law of nature, we grant it. But we maintain also that *monogamy* does not rest upon the law of nature, but upon the sacramental mystery connected with the taking of the woman out of the side of man in Paradise. We have said that Dr. Gray does not seem to appreciate the sacramental significance of the Divine act, and we have based our conclusion upon his own words. When speaking of the woman as taken out

of the side of the man, he adds, "whatever that may mean." S. Paul tells us what it does mean; and Dr. Gray, in his sixth chapter, accepts the explanation of S. Paul as satisfactory. But he seeks to evade [p. 45] the conclusion to which the words of the Apostle manifestly lead. We would ask Dr. Gray how he proposes to reconcile with his theory the words of the same Apostle [1 *Corinthians* vi. 15-16], when, in speaking of the sin of fornication as a sin against a man's body, S. Paul asks, "Shall I then take the members of CHRIST, and make them the members of an harlot? What! know ye not that which is joined to an harlot is one body? for two, saith he, shall be one flesh." If words have any meaning, it is not the harlot that is one flesh with the man, but the man that is one flesh with the harlot.

It will be seen, then, that the argument against marriage with a deceased wife's sister does not rest upon the isolated and much disputed text,—*Leviticus* xxiii. 18. The general principle which pervades the enactments of that whole chapter, "that the law applies to the female as well as to the male, changing what needs to be changed," is sufficient to cover the case. The argument of Dean Gray, as we have proved, does not affect this principle. But there are moral grounds, in addition to the argument from Scripture, which, in my judgment, are absolutely convincing. If it was a thing from which nature itself revolted, that a mother (as was sometimes the case among the Egyptians and Persians, who were accustomed to marry their own children) might have her last days embittered by the thought that her end was desired in order that her own daughter might take her place as a wife, it is surely not less a thing to be abhorred that a sister, as has not infrequently been the case, should be compelled during her lifetime to witness the growth of an affection which only waits for her own death to reach its consummation. Kalisch, Jew and Rationalist though he be, has already disposed of the theory of Dean Gray. "It is impossible," he says, in his Commentary on *Leviticus*, "to accede to the rule that 'whereas the wife becomes incorporated into the family of the husband,

the husband is not incorporated into the family of the wife ; his relations become her relations, but her relations do not become his relations.' This may be true from the social and civil, but it is not true from the Ethical and religious points of view, and it is the latter which mainly underlie the Levitical laws of matrimony."

THOMAS RICHEY.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Tuscan Cities, by W. D. HOWELLS. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

THIS sumptuous volume is put forth in time for the Christmas season; but it has decidedly more weight and value than commonly attaches to specimens of holiday book-making. Mr. Howells, if he were not supreme as novelist, would occupy a position as a writer of books of travel second to that of very few. As fame first sought him out because of work in this field, it is graceful and appropriate that he should from time to time return to it, and in this instance he has made a distinct addition to the literature of foreign travel. His subject has been bethumbed and dog's-eared until it is as worn as an old lesson book. We all know Florence and the Italian cities by heart, whether we have visited them or no; and nothing but a singular freshness and keenness of observation, coupled with a style of very especial charm, could revivify interest in, or excuse a new book about, them. But Mr. Howells is easily one of the closest observers who lends his pen to the picturing of objects of travellers' enterprise, and his style, as everyone knows, is not merely "its own excuse for being," but excuse enough for the being of any creation which he chooses to illumine with it.

The author of *Tuscan Cities* sees them for the second time, and does not come to them with the same zest which inspired him upon his first visit, and this he constantly admits to the reader. But he does not allow that the zest is less, though not the same; and is not disposed to quarrel with his feeling, whatever it is.

The reminiscent tone in travel-books has not a tendency to fasten the reader's sympathy; but Mr.

Howells takes it in a frank and genial spirit which wins upon one unconsciously. Indeed, his attitude, as in *Venetian Days*, *Italian Journeys*, *Their Wedding Journey*, and *A Chance Acquaintance*, is that of a travelling comrade, commenting lightly, but acutely, upon the sights which you and he are seeing together. A book journey made in Mr. Howells' company leaves one with the agreeable impressions which come of journeys made with an amiable and observant friend, and this is certainly as nearly the perfection of literary travel as may be.

Venetian Life, and some of the other books mentioned, in spite of their great charm, had an effect not wholly pleasant. It arose, if one must try to define it, from the author's shamefacedness about his own honest sentiment, and a habit which he early contracted of throwing cold water upon himself when found lapsing into a bit of genuine feeling.

The habit has grown upon him, but it has been mellowed and softened in its effect by the enrichment of his art. In the earlier books sentiment came naturally to his pen, and it would always have been delightful if it had not been rallied the moment after. He felt it right to mask it then, and now there is not so much to mask. What we feel in such a work as *Tuscan Cities* is that the writer has lost most of his sentiment and all of his illusions. He used to compassionate his own touches of natural feeling; now he compassionates the reader's. The spirit which seems to be at work in Mr. Howells in these days is not cynicism—no one is further from it—nor even a gentle pessimism, though that more nearly describes it, but a curious inclination toward shrugging his shoulders at his own impressions, and (in his novels) at his own people, so that all his work is vaguely discredited by the absence of a deep seriousness of treatment.

As to *Tuscan Cities*, this lack is in the atmosphere of the book, not exactly in the book itself; and it does not touch the literary quality of the volume, which is incomparably delicate and fine.

The publishers have done much for the work, and as

an example of book-making it does credit to the new and already prosperous firm of Ticknor & Co. Joseph Pennell, with some assistance from Van Schaick and others, furnishes the illustrations. Mr. Pennell's work is most admirable. Whether in the dusky etchings which render merely effect, or in the clear, firm drawings which with a few simple lines reproduce the scene to the eye so charmingly, they are such accompaniments of the text as one could wish ; and this is saying much.

The Sermon on the Mount. With an Introduction by EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D. One Royal Quarto Volume. Illustrated. Boston : Roberts Brothers.

THIS is truly a *Royal Quarto Volume*, and we wish it was in our power to give a true idea of it as a work of Art and *Religious Study*, for such it is. Like Mr. Howells' *Tuscan Cities*, it is of far greater value than merely a beautiful book to sell during the holiday season.

The cover has an elaborate design, with a picture of the great Preacher stamped in gold. The complete Bible text of the Sermon on the Mount is beautifully engrossed and engraved ; most of the pages have decorative borders, and the volume is printed on satin-finished paper and bound in cloth (\$7.50) and Morocco Antique and Tree Calf (\$15). It is a most perfect specimen of what is now called the book-maker's art.

The Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D., contributes an historical introduction that is most interesting and instructive. He describes Mount Kürûn Hattin, or the Mount of the Beatitudes, as it is sometimes called, and surrounding country. The added historic interest with which the Crusades surround the Mount is also alluded to.

Twenty-seven illustrations by Harry Fenn, H. Sandham, F. S. Church, W. St. John Harper, W. L. Taylor, J. H. Fraser, and F. B. Schell form a commentary on the text more worthy of study and reflection than any we have ever read. All the scenes are Oriental but that by Mr. Church, which is not in keeping with the subject

or in harmony with the other work done. We do not criticise the execution of it, but even the accomplished artist must know that "Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake" could be much more appropriately illustrated than by a mother with her infant in her arms hiding in a North American forest from pursuing savages. With this exception, "all the interpretations are harmonious in disclosing that which lies at the heart of the teaching." *The Borders*, the work of Mr. Sidney L. Smith, will be a delightful surprise to all who may see them. Never before has such a triumph in richness and variety been achieved by any artist. It would be impossible to give any adequate description of them.

If but one book can be purchased to mark this Christmas-tide, we advise that it be this *SERMON ON THE MOUNT*.

A Popular Manual of English Literature, with Historical, Scientific, and Art Notes. By MAUDE GILLETTE PHILLIPS. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers.

OUR interest in manuals is not of a positive character. We have been led to regard them, ordinarily, with some suspicion, both as to their construction and profit. Too often they are marrowless and fragmentary compilations, showing little appreciation of the department of knowledge which they profess to represent, and calculated to mislead as to the object or true end of study. By reason of their meagre information and their disjointed statements the young minds with which they come into contact are in danger of being disabled for logical or philosophic investigation, and made averse to continuous, specific, and symmetrical culture.

This work is exceptionally good. It is free from the faults we have designated, and shows a steady design to awaken and gratify a taste for literature. We regard it as conceived and elaborated upon a true method, and we are confident that its use will be followed by good results in the way of precise and available knowledge and of educational development. The writer's aim is to

give a simple philosophical survey of the growth of English Literature. This is accomplished by a broad characterisation, *seriatim*, of ten ages, the period of its historic development, as a preliminary condition to the more minute study of the representative writers of each division. By this treatment the masterpieces of English literature are subjected to a close analytical and psychological study, so that the spirit of the age and of the author is revealed, and we can appreciate the environments and discover the vital principles that wrought *in* and *through* genius.

Literary anatomy is a difficult and delicate process. Very few, even advanced students, are competent to the work, and hence æsthetic criticism has opened a broad and inviting field for expert labor. As a consequence, some of the highest achievements of intellect may be found among the critics of the last half-century, and many a dead *littérateur*, from Chaucer downward, has been disinterred, from a forgotten grave, embalmed by friendly hands, and decorated with kingly honors for the admiration of the ages. Scarcely a representative writer of any age in English literature is unaccompanied in this manual by an admirable and scholarly notice from a writer whose fame is established.

But the work has more than the merits to be looked for in a manual. As a book of reference it has rare excellence. Its periodic divisions and historic outlines, its well-selected passages of æsthetic criticism, and its charts of contemporary sovereigns, literati, philosophers, scientists, painters, and sculptors will afford helpful aid to all literary investigators. Again, its list of authorities quoted in the work, and its full index, will facilitate labor and prove a welcome thesaurus even to the advanced student.

Principles of Political Economy. By SIMON NEWCOMB, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Mathematics, U. S. Navy; Professor in the Johns Hopkins University. Pp. xvi-548. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS is a work of high order. Its philosophic and logical methods, and its calm discussion of rudimentary

or elemental principles lift it out of the category of ordinary theses on political economy. There is no bias perceptible in the author that looks to a foregone conclusion through a vast display of scholarly research and masterful argument. His object is to investigate in "dry light," look for results that may be classified scientifically and regarded as facts established, and then make advances into new territory. He regards much of the confusion and uncertainty characteristic of the investigations in this field as arising from the isolated and fragmentary treatment of topics. His method is based on a conception of scientific unity attainable by close observation and investigation of all the factors that enter into the study.

The first four books of the volume are devoted to an investigation of principles, the definitions of the terms of economic science, the exposition of adopted fallacies, the elucidation of the topics included in such studies, viz.: Wealth, Capital, Labor, Rent, Population, etc., their inter-relations, and their mutual modifying influences.

In the fifth book the scientific and practical sides of questions that comprise public policy are presented, so that the student may see the application of first principles and assure himself of his mastery of a science of economy.

The whole work is characterised by patient thought, close observation, and incisive statement. Its rudimentary quality is its chief excellence as an educational agency, and is calculated to provoke a review of much of the stereotyped and accepted literature on the subject.

Christ and Christianity. By the Rev. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D. p. —
New York : Charles Scribner's Sons.

STUDIES on Christology, Creeds, and Confessions, Protestantism and Romanism, Reformation Principles, Sunday Observance, Religious Freedom, and Christian Union. By PHILIP SCHAFF. 8vo, pp. 310. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

WE have here another volume from the prolific pen of

Dr. Schaff. As its title indicates, it embraces a great variety of subjects, and is mostly made up of articles or addresses already published in other forms, but containing also some new and important matter. The Introduction [pp. 1-22] is Dr. Schaff's inaugural address in the Union Theological Seminary, October, 1871. The Conclusion [pp. 292-310], "*The Discord and Concord of Christendom*," is his address before the Evangelical Alliance at Copenhagen, September, 1884. Besides these the volume contains [pp. 128-134] an address on "*The Principles of the Reformation*," at the Union Theological Seminary, November, 1883; one [pp. 153-183] on "*The Consensus of the Reformed Confessions*," read at "The First General Presbyterian Council, Edinburgh," July, 1877; an address in German [pp. 213-239] at a meeting at the Cooper Institute in New York, October, 1859, of Germans chiefly, for the promotion of the observance of Sunday; an Essay [pp. 240-275] on "*The Christian Sabbath*," read before the "National Sabbath Convention," Saratoga, 1863; and an article reprinted from the *North American Review* for April, 1884, occupying pp. 276-291. The parts which are not marked as having been printed before are *Christological Studies*, pp. 23-123 (with four pages added on *Protestantism and Romanism*); *Creeds and Confessions of Faith* [pp. 135-152]; and *Slavery and the Bible* [pp. 184-212]. The first of these is much the longer, and will naturally attract more of interest and attention. It is divided into two parts: the first is "an apologetic Essay," entitled, "CHRIST His own best witness," and is a valuable and concise statement that the CHRIST of the Gospels can only be accounted for by accepting the truth of the portraiture.

The second division contains a succinct but singularly clear history of "Christology" in the Ante-Nicene period, the period of the Councils, and in the Post-Chalcedonian ages. This is followed by a review of the views upon the subject of various Protestant bodies, and of several eminent individual writers. The author's position may be gathered from the following passages on p. 67:

These are serious difficulties and defect in the Chalcedonian Christology, and call for such a reconstruction or improvement as will conform it to the historical realness of CHRIST's humanity, to the full meaning of His own sayings concerning Himself, and to all the facts of his Life. . . . At the same time the Chalcedonian dogma is the ripest fruit of the Christological speculations and controversies of the ancient Church, and can never lose its value. It gave the clearest expression to the faith in the Incarnation for ages to come. It saves the full idea of the God-man as to the essential elements, however imperfect the philosophical form in which it is cast. It defines with sound religious judgment the boundary line which separates Christological truth from Christological error. It guards us against two opposite dangers—the Scylla of Nestorian dualism, and the Charybdis of Euctychian Monophysitism, or against an abstract separation of the Divine and human, and an absorption of the human by the Divine. It excludes also every kind of mixture of the two natures, which would result in a being that is neither human nor Divine.

The book is an instructive one, and may be read with profit, especially by the young theologian; though it is not necessary to agree with the author in all his positions.

The Proofs of Christ's Resurrection; from a Lawyer's Standpoint. By C. R. MORRISON. Pp. 155. Andover: W. F. Draper.

It is now nearly forty years since *The Testimony of the Four Evangelists* was put forth by Dr. Simon Greenleaf. That was an important work, because written by an eminent lawyer, accustomed to weigh human testimony. But as each generation has its own characteristics, and its own general literature, so it needs to have presented afresh the evidences of religion in its own mould. This is excellently well done in the little book of Mr. Morrison. He writes as a lawyer, he looks at the testimony as a lawyer, and he comes to a lawyer's conclusion.

The book consists of twenty short chapters, followed by two very full indices. The plan is, after a couple of preliminary chapters, to start with the testimony of Justin Martyr, and after having examined and sifted this, to follow back the "Memoirs" of which he speaks to their source. Then follows a chapter on the "Integrity of the Gospels," and another on "The Credibility of the Evangelists," and then the testimony of the Apocalypse

and of the Four unquestioned epistles of S. Paul is considered. Our LORD's predictions concerning Himself are next taken up, then the "order of events," and finally, two chapters are devoted to the "Sufficiency of the proofs," with a closing one on the "Logical results." In examining the testimony of antiquity, the author has hampered himself by refraining from all use of the Epistles of Ignatius, because they are disputed, but he has, nevertheless, presented a forcible and convincing book, and one calculated to be of great use, especially to legal minds.

The Light of Asia and the Light of the World. A comparison of the Legend, of the Doctrine, and the Ethics of the Buddha, with the Story, the Doctrine, and the Ethics of CHRIST. By S. H. KELLOGG, D.D., Professor in the Western Theological Seminary. Pp. 370. London and New York : Macmillan & Co.

WHATEVER pricks the very brilliant bubble blown by Edwin Arnold and others is to be admired, provided it is done effectually. We can say for Professor Kellogg that he has thoroughly accomplished his end. He has done so by two points in particular which he has thoroughly made out. One of these is to overthrow the imaginary historical dependence of Christianity upon Buddhism, and the other is to demolish the ethical likeness fancied to exist between the two. He dwells expressly upon the fact that the coincidence of ethical language may be where there is the strongest variation in moral meaning. Thus, the virtue of a Spartan youth whipped to death rather than confess a theft and the virtue of a Christian martyr may bear the same name. So with the chastity of a Shaker devotee and a Christian matron. So with the Buddhist renunciation of the world and S. Paul's idea of the same. The translation of Hindu or Sanscrit terms into correspondent English often carries no similarity of idea. Charity, for example, is by no means the charity of 1 *Corinthians* xiii. Piety is not the word which Christians accept. Purity is as far from the New Testament idea, as the Pharisees' thought from the SAVIOUR's teaching.

We consider this work deserves a careful study, for it

has a conclusive answer to all the vague sentimentalism of the modern glorifying of Oriental theology. Dr. Kellogg has had the advantage of years of Indian missionary life and knows the sense which the Hindu puts upon the words which sound so fairly in European ears. His honesty and learning are beyond all question, and his book is a timely gift.

The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order, derived from Thibetan Works in the Bkahi-Hgyur and Bstan-Bgyur, followed by Notices on the Early History of Thibet and Khoten. Translated by W. WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, Second Secretary of U. S. Legation in China. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. Pp. 269.

WE cannot advise anyone to read this work unless with a conscientious purpose. If one desires to know how puerile, tedious, and poor the real Buddhism is, he can assuredly find that out in these pages. These legends are to the lovely Greek myths as the grotesque carvings of Hindu temples are to the Apollo Belvidere and the Venus of Milo. There is all the childish exaggeration of numbers which marks Oriental literature, and none of the beauty of fancy which touches the heart as one reads the Scandinavian legends. The great triumphant hymn which certain English poets have sought to intone to the religions of the East comes to naught when one contemplates the bare reality as here exposed. As for any comparison with Semitic literature, and especially with that of the Hebrew Scriptures, the one is not to be named in the same day with the other. There is no shadow of resemblance. It may be said that here is the Thibetan and corrupted form of the Hindu idea, but it is hardly possible that a degraded version could show so little of a lofty original. The Koran borrows from the New Testament, but the source is easily discovered, and the Koran is a book of light contrasted with the ineffable silliness of this story of Gautama.

Eight Studies of the Lord's Day, pp. 282. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

IN the anonymous volume published under the above title we find a novel mode of discussing the Sunday question, and one, withal, which will commend itself to

most minds as decidedly in advance of anything which has yet appeared on this topic.

The writer takes certain recognised facts as he finds them, and points his readers to what he considers their natural and inevitable antecedents. His reasonings are clear and forcible, and, in general, compel assent to his conclusions. He attacks no theories, argues no vexed questions, as such; quarrels with no man's views, but rather seeks to place in their proper light, as bearing upon the general subject, such facts and phenomena as are patent to all and denied by none. For example, as bearing upon the question of whether the origin of this institution is human or Divine, he considers, in the first study, the actual phenomena exhibited in its observance throughout the world at present. Those phenomena are well-nigh universal, and certainly evident to all.

There is no doubt in any man's mind as to the radical difference between this day, *without regard to its religious aspect*, and all others of the seven, a difference which, perforce, has more or less effect upon the actions of every individual; to quote:

This first day of the week lies athwart every man's path, and whatever he may wish or intend, he is compelled to adjust his steps to the social fact, or to remove beyond all social intercourse.

It is an *institution* of society which no one can avoid recognising in some way.

The phenomena which characterise the day as one of festival and unusual social privilege to all classes, whether they be religious or not, are next dwelt upon; and finally, the more restricted phenomena connected with its observance as a religious day. In this connection the most striking feature presented is that among all its variations in doctrine and practice, on this point alone Christendom is practically united. Powerful indeed must have been the force of that tradition (if tradition *alone* it was) which served to impose so universal an observance upon the Christian world, since in nothing else does it maintain even an approximation to this degree of unity. An institution so universally accepted

and observed would indicate an origin in something more than mere Christian *sentiment*; and this origin the author discusses in the second study.

This is a review of the records of its observation preserved in the New Testament. In regard to these records the author premises that the silence of Scripture is often to be regarded as equally important with its utterances; that the *practice* of the Apostles was as much a following of the guidance of the HOLY SPIRIT as their words, and that the utterances of Scripture are explained by other voices and by the general voice of Scripture.

From a careful consideration of the references to the "first day of the week" subsequent to the Resurrection, it would appear that our Blessed LORD by His visible acts, if not by His words, taught the disciples to associate this day in an especial manner with himself, by remaining invisible on all other days, and appearing to them only on the "first day of the week." Thus we may regard the establishment of its regular observance as one of His personal acts.

In consequence of the aspect in which the day was thus presented, the disciples seem to have taken up its observance naturally and as a matter of course. But as this was a change from established custom, and one of great importance, we would naturally look for some more definite explanation or command, in the New Testament itself, in regard to it, unless it were something to be looked for as a *natural outgrowth* of what had already been written in the Jewish Scriptures.

If this were the case, if the Old Testament pointed to this change or development as an accompaniment to the new dispensation of the Messiah, then the silence of the New Testament in regard to the change would not be unnatural.

Such teaching and prophecy the author proceeds to consider. "The week" is first presented to us, and shown to be an *arbitrary* division of time totally unlike all others which depend upon natural laws—its determination resting solely upon a day of religious observance marks it as of Divine origin, and its recognition by

man as a confession of allegiance from the creature to the Creator.

The sacred day which marks the boundary of this distinctively Divine division of time is shown to have passed through three stages of *development*. With two of these, the Jewish Sabbath and the LORD's Day, we are more familiar than with the third, which covers the long period between the Creation and the establishment of the Jewish Sabbath. That the week was limited by a sacred day during this period the author shows in the fourth study, using largely the narrative of Noah and the Ark to establish his position.

In the next two studies the development of the Jewish Sabbath and the entire sabbatical system is fully considered, and the conclusion drawn that it was intended to teach its own incompleteness and its character of a preparatory institution for something more perfect to follow. That the LORD's Day is both a natural and a necessary outgrowth and development, or rather fulfilment, of this sabbatic system, is most admirably argued in the seventh study.

The *first* day of the week, as the *great* day of religious observance, marking the boundary of the week, is shown to be fully set forth in the Year of Jubilee, which was the crowning glory of the sabbatic system, but which *began* a new series of sevens and did not end the old.

The permanent and the transient in the Mosaic system is carefully separated, and the conclusion reached that the institution of the Jewish Sabbath *could not* have been continued under a dispensation intended to expand its influences beyond the limits of Palestine, and eventually to embrace all nations on the face of the earth.

The whole of this excellent argument is rounded up and completed in the final study, which summarises the preparations and prophecies of the LORD's Day to be found in the Jewish sabbatic system; and in conclusion discusses the application of the Fourth Commandment, showing that in spirit it is more thoroughly observed in the Christian LORD's Day than it ever was, or ever could be, in the Sabbath of the Jews.

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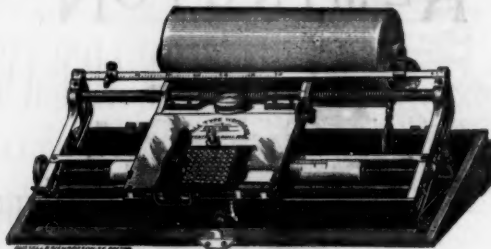
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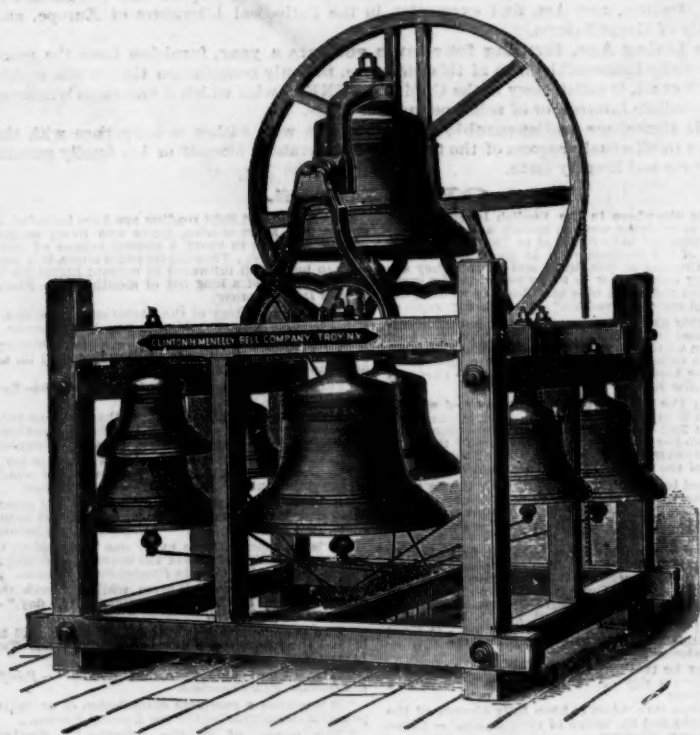
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man as a confession of allegiance from the creature to the Creator.

The sacred day which marks the boundary of this distinctively Divine division of time is shown to have passed through three stages of *development*. With two of these, the Jewish Sabbath and the LORD's Day, we are more familiar than with the third, which covers the long period between the Creation and the establishment of the Jewish Sabbath. That the week was limited by a sacred day during this period the author shows in the fourth study, using largely the narrative of Noah and the Ark to establish his position.

In the next two studies the development of the Jewish Sabbath and the entire sabbatical system is fully considered, and the conclusion drawn that it was intended to teach its own incompleteness and its character of a preparatory institution for something more perfect to follow. That the LORD's Day is both a natural and a necessary outgrowth and development, or rather fulfilment, of this sabbatic system, is most admirably argued in the seventh study.

The *first* day of the week, as the *great* day of religious observance, marking the boundary of the week, is shown to be fully set forth in the Year of Jubilee, which was the crowning glory of the sabbatic system, but which *began* a new series of sevens and did not end the old.

The permanent and the transient in the Mosaic system is carefully separated, and the conclusion reached that the institution of the Jewish Sabbath *could not* have been continued under a dispensation intended to expand its influences beyond the limits of Palestine, and eventually to embrace all nations on the face of the earth.

The whole of this excellent argument is rounded up and completed in the final study, which summarises the preparations and prophecies of the LORD's Day to be found in the Jewish sabbatic system; and in conclusion discusses the application of the Fourth Commandment, showing that in spirit it is more thoroughly observed in the Christian LORD's Day than it ever was, or ever could be, in the Sabbath of the Jews.